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# The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

## Of Duty and Destiny
By Buell G. Gallagher

## Military Alliance
An Editorial

## Catholics Recover the Bible
By Jean Bosc

## Jewish Nationalism
By Millar Burrows

MARCH 30, 1949

## In This Issue

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# Contents

EDITORIAL
Editorial Paragraphs ..... 387
Whose Religious Liberty? ..... 390
Military Alliance ..... 391

SIMEON STYLITES: 'Won't You Sit Down?' ..... 393

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES
Of Duty and Destiny, by Buell G. Gallagher ..... 394
German Churches Fail Youth, by Iain Wilson ..... 397
Catholicism Recovers the Bible, by Jean Bosc ..... 399
Jewish Nationalism, by Millar Burrows ..... 400

BOOKS
Religious Liberty, by Cecil Northcott ..... 402
Books in Brief ..... 403

CORRESPONDENCE ..... 404

NEWS OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD
The Carolinas ..... 406
Federal Council ..... 406
United Church of Canada on Vatican Envoy ..... 408
Australia ..... 409
New York ..... 410
England ..... 412
Germany ..... 413
China ..... 414

CURRENT FEATURE FILMS ..... 415

The Christian Century

Established 1884, as *The Christian Oracle*.
Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
Refounded 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison and developed as an undenominational journal of religion.

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1908, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1949 by Christian Century Foundation. All rights reserved. Published weekly by Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.
$6.00 a year. Canadian postage, 50 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.50 extra.
The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries.

## Calendar of Coming Events

March 28-30. International Religion and Labor Conference, Cincinnati. (National Religion and Labor Foundation Headquarters, New Haven, Conn.)
March 28-31. Disciples Third Washington Workshop on World Order, Washington, D. C.
March 28-April 1. National Lutheran Council Semi-annual Staff Meetings, Chicago.
April 1-3. Peacemakers' Conference on Non-Violent Action Against Conscription, War and Dictatorship, Chicago.
April 3. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, speaker.
April 3. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Leo M. Cherne, speaker.
April 6-7. Joplin Ministerial Alliance Tri-State Institute for Ministers, Joplin, Mo.
April 7-9. American Society of Church History Spring Meeting, Chicago and McCormick Theological Seminaries, Chicago.
April 7-9. American Society of Church History Lectures, Chicago; William Haller, speaker.
April 10. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Harold Bosley, speaker.
April 10. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Lewis Browne, speaker.
April 17. Easter Sunday.
April 17. 27th annual Sunrise Easter Service on Mount Davidson, San Francisco.
April 18-21. 19th Annual Post-Easter Convocation, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.; Ayer Lectures, Frederick W. Norwood; Rauschenbusch Lectures, Ralph H. Gabriel.
April 19-20. United Stewardship Council Committee Meetings, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
April 19-21. National Temperance Movement Council on the New Approach to the Alcohol Problem, University of Chicago.
April 20. Federal Council of Churches Department of Evangelism, New York.
April 20-21. Evangelical and Reformed Church General Synod Special Meeting, Cleveland.
April 20-22. Associated Church Press, Washington, D. C.
April 21. General Commission on Chaplains Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C.
April 21. Temperance League of America Executive Committee Meeting, St. Louis.
April 22-24. Federation of Lutheran Clubs' Convention, Cincinnati.
April 24-30. National Y.W.C.A. Week.
April 25. Boston Congregational Club Meeting, Old South Church; Joseph R. Sizoo, speaker.
April 25-27. Third Wisconsin Pastors' Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
April 26-27. Easter Lectures, Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio; Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., speaker.
April 26-28. Yale Divinity School Annual Convocation: Lyman Beecher Lectures, Leslie Weatherhead; Taylor Lectures, James Muilenburg.
April 27. Midwest Council of Community Churches Conference, New Carlisle, Ind., Community Church.
April 29-May 3. Ecumenical Institute, "Men and Women in Industry," Celigny, Switzerland.
May 1-8. National Family Week.
May 3-5. Pacific Coast Joint Lutheran Centennial Observation, San Francisco: Sigried Eagstrom, Franklin Clark Fry, Morris Wee, speakers.
May 9-June 2. Ecumenical Institute Youth Leaders' Course, Celigny, Switzerland.
May 18-22. Southern Baptist Convention, Oklahoma City.
May 22. Rural Life Sunday.
May 26. Presbyterian, U.S., General Assembly, Montreat, N. C.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXVI CHICAGO, MARCH 30, 1949 NUMBER 13

# EDITORIAL

AT A TIME when we have neither war nor peace because powerful nations cannot agree, the establishment of the World Council of Churches brings new hope to a despairing world. The World Council, as Section IV of the Amsterdam conference said in its report, "is a living expression of fellowship, transcending race and nation, class and culture, knit together in faith, service and understanding. Its aim will be to hasten international reconciliation through the cooperation of all Christian churches and all men of good will. It will strive to see international differences in the light of God's design, remembering that normally there are Christians on both sides of every frontier. It should not weary in the effort to state the Christian understanding of the will of God and to promote its application to national and international policy. . . . Therefore it is the duty of the Christian to pray for all men, especially for those in authority; to combat both hatred and resignation in regard to war; to support negotiation rather than primary reliance upon arms as an instrument of national policy; and to sustain such national policies as in his judgment best reflect Christian principles." *O God, who through thy prophets of old hast foretold a day when armaments of war shall be beaten into the implements of peace: hasten, we beseech thee, the fulfillment of thy most sure promise. Quell the haughty cries of the nations, scatter the peoples that delight in war; that we may be speedily delivered from our present confusion into the order and righteousness of thy Kingdom. Amen.*

Fifth Week In Lent

## Filibuster Defeats Civil Rights Legislation

DURING the campaign last fall, when President Truman laid the blame for his difficulties with the 80th Congress on its Republican majority, this paper called his argument spurious. How very spurious it was, the dismal collapse of the effort to clear the way for civil rights legislation in the 81st Congress has proved. Now Washington echoes with bitter debate over the question: Was the success of the Dixiecrat filibuster a result of deliberate sabotage by ostensible supporters of the civil rights program, or was it simply caused by inept legislative strategy? The latter interpretation points to the decision of the Truman forces to bring the civil rights issue up near the start of the session as an example of bad judgment. A filibuster was expected from the start, and a filibuster at that point on the legislative calendar meant that all other matters —such as the rent controls which were to expire on March 31—were kept off the Senate floor. That gave the filibusterers a superior bargaining position they should never have been granted. Those who believe in the sabotage explanation, however, point to the Republican failure to uphold the Barkley ruling, when a switch of only three votes would practically have settled the issue in favor of the civil rights cause then and there. They point to Mr. Truman's shattering blow to the morale of his own forces when he told a press conference that he favored applying cloture by a simple majority of the senators present and voting at any time. And they point to the number of supposedly pro-civil rights western Democrats who teamed with Dixiecrats and Republicans to put over the alleged "compromise" which will actually make future filibusters harder to break. We do not know which interpretation is correct, but we will be surprised if the whole episode does not add to the sense of frustration and cynicism with which increasing numbers of educated Negroes regard the relationship of their race to the vaunted democratic processes of this country.

## Federal Council Will Consult Geneva

THE DISAPPOINTING Cleveland conference on the churches and world order produced one proposal which gained wide attention in the press. That was the suggestion of a conference between the World Council and the Vatican in which a common Christian policy for defending religious liberty might be agreed on. The Cleveland delegates passed this along to the executive committee of the Federal Council, and the executive committee, when it met in New York on March 15, passed it along to the council's advisory committee. The advisory committee, it is safe to predict, will handle the proposal with great care. If there is any chance that the Vatican might be willing to consult on the equal basis Cleveland had in mind, the committee will want to be sure to do nothing which would block such a historic consultation. On the other hand, nothing would be gained if the Protestant representatives sought such a conference under conditions in which there was any ambiguity about what Protestants mean by religious liberty. Accordingly, the Federal Council will consult the World Council before pushing the Cleveland proposal any farther. In the meantime its executive committee has adopted the "Declaration on Religious Freedom" which is printed in full on page 406 of this issue. This should make entirely clear

to the Roman Catholic authorities what the Protestant churches have in mind when they suggest a common stand on this critical issue. There are two key sentences in this forceful document: "In bearing this united testimony and standing together in a common protest we must guard against a blind emotion or a heedless hysteria which might seek to defend the church through resort to war." That's the first. The second is even more pointed: "In championing religious freedom we mean freedom from coercion by any earthly power, whether political or ecclesiastical, that assumes the prerogative of God and attempts to control the conscience of the individual."

## Amsterdam Continues to Interest Catholics

REPORTS from Europe continue to emphasize the interest aroused in influential Roman Catholic circles by the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches. While most of the Catholic comment is reserved and wary, it cannot conceal a frank recognition that the ecumenical movement represents a development of great significance. Thus the Ecumenical Press Service reports that Father Rouquette, S.J., told a meeting in Paris that a "powerful dynamism" today activates the cooperative interests of Protestant and Orthodox churches. Noting that this is no longer a movement of self-appointed enthusiasts, but is rooted in the organizational life of the churches, he accepts as of the first importance Amsterdam's decision to base its cooperation on the recognition of Jesus Christ as God and Savior. Father Rouquette approved of the Assembly's wisdom in opening up roads toward the rapprochement of Christians by searching for basic agreements, by restudying doctrine to determine more precisely what it means and by giving great importance to practical action. It is also reported that Fr. Maurice Villain, writing in a Swiss paper, echoed what Karl Barth said at Amsterdam. In concluding his article, Villain said: "Rome's absence from the Amsterdam Assembly still entails a presence, and beyond all possible doubt, a prayer. If Amsterdam faced Catholics with a vast question mark on what, in the light of the Spirit, they should reflect, it is in that same light that we venture to invite you, our Protestant brethren, to think over Rome's refusal to join. . . . What is clear to us is dark to you, and vice versa. On both sides there is mystery and there is suffering." We are not sure we understand all that this means, but what we think we understand seems to be true and is undoubtedly friendly.

## Gara Conviction Should Be Appealed

A JURY in a federal district court at Toledo, Ohio, has convicted Larry Gara of having advised a young man now in prison to refuse to register for the draft. The case has attracted wide attention, since it is the first of this sort to come to a showdown under the present draft law. Gara is liable to a penalty of up to five years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine. Larry Gara is a Quaker instructor in history at Bluffton College, a Mennonite school in Bluffton, Ohio. During the war he spent three years in prison as a conscientious objector. He is now beyond draft age. On November 8 last year a federal officer, accompanied by an FBI agent, went to the college to arrest Charles Rickert, a senior who had informed his draft board that he would not, for reasons of conscience, register. Rickert had notified the draft board of his intention not to register on September 10; Gara did not even meet him until September 20. Some sort of argument took place between Gara and the FBI agent while the agent and the court officer were in the Bluffton dormitory getting Rickert. On January 3 an officer appeared to arrest Gara on two indictments handed down by a grand jury. The first was so vague—"At various times . . . the exact date, or dates, or instances being unknown . . . Larry Gara did knowingly counsel . . . individuals . . . unknown"—that the government wisely dropped it when the case came to trial. The second charged that he had counseled Rickert "to refuse or evade registration" on the day of the arrest. In the trial it came out that this counsel consisted of the words, "Don't let them coerce you into changing your mind." On the strength of these words, such as any Christian might utter to any man anywhere and at any time who was attempting to follow the guidance of conscience, Gara was convicted. Why this obscure young instructor should have been chosen as the first to be tried under this section of the draft law it is hard to say; several hundred prominent members of A. J. Muste's "Peacemakers" have been challenging the government for many weeks past to arrest and try them for avowed infractions. But having chosen this case, the government should be made to stand on it. It is so weak a case that it should be appealed, if necessary, right up to the Supreme Court.

## Christian Horizons Still Unlimited

WITH China hidden under a great cloud and other lands caught in the cosmic convulsion of global revolution, some of the fainthearted have concluded that the day of Christian missions is drawing to its close. Such a conclusion is premature, if one may judge by *Christian Horizons—1949,* a closely printed eight-page annual publication of the Student Volunteer Movement for Christian Missions. This year it lists openings for no less than 2,500 men and women in missionary service in 70 countries. These are not openings which might exist if conditions were different. They are specific calls for personnel that is needed *now,* with the names and addresses of the mission boards which are ready to fill the posts when qualified volunteers appear. Of course the publication of this list does not mean that the mission boards have no idea where the volunteers are to come from and have resorted to this means to locate prospects. Hundreds of young men and women are studying in the seminaries which specialize in this kind of training, and most of them are already assured of positions when they finish their preparation. But a booklet of this sort is an indication that the missionary enterprise still looks to the future and today hears more demands for devoted Christian service than it can answer. The openings include more calls for agricultural and business experience than formerly. Christian

social and community workers are in big demand. Persons equipped as educators lead all other professions sought by the mission boards, although evangelistic and general church workers and medical doctors and nurses are in heavy demand. Every minister and teacher of young people should equip himself with this circular. It can be secured from the Student Volunteer Movement, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

## India Has National Emergency Strike

OURS IS NOT the only country compelled to deal with labor disturbances that carry the threat of national paralysis. Recently Prime Minister Nehru reported to the Indian parliament that 870 Communists had been arrested in ten days for interfering with the operation of railways. The All-India Railwaymen's Federation, which was seeking higher wages, decided on a strike in November. Negotiations with the government followed, as a result of which an amicable solution was found and the strike call rescinded. But this did not suit a Communist minority in the union. Mr. Nehru, who is a long way from being a reactionary, charged that the Communist party "looked upon these strikes not from the trade union or economic point of view meant to better the lot of the workers, but as a weapon designed to create a chaotic state in the country which it thought would help the party gain its other objectives, whatever they might be." When this policy resulted in sabotage, train-wrecking and methods of coercion and terrorism, the government arrested the individuals believed to be responsible. It held that this was the only possible course, since famine and chaos would quickly ensue if it did not act to meet the challenge to its authority. On the other hand, the Communist party was not banned and Communist publications, some of which were highly incendiary, were permitted to circulate. For the period of the emergency, government action confined itself to confiscation of guns, hand grenades and bombs and to action against individuals caught in destructive or terroristic acts. When the emergency was over, persons who had not actually been proved to have engaged in such acts were released. If one takes into consideration the general situation in India, this course of action seems moderate and consistent with democratic freedom.

## Hold Up Executions of 'Malmedy' Germans

ARMY SECRETARY ROYALL has told General Clay to hold up the execution of 12 German soldiers for participation in the Malmedy massacre during the Battle of the Bulge until he can review the case. This is the third review, and it is charged in Washington that this one has been set up by the army in order to sidetrack the inquiry which the Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Hoey had voted to make. The first review, made by Judge Gordon Simpson of Texas and Judge E. L. Van Roden of Pennsylvania, recommended commutation of death sentences for 29 of the Germans. General Clay, however, allowed five to be hanged. Of the rest, nine were given life sentences, one 10 years, one was reprieved for reconsideration. Now 12 others are to have their cases reviewed by Mr. Royall. That leaves one unaccounted for; presumably he is still tagged for the gallows. It must be borne in mind that there has never been any serious denial of the original report made by the two American judges as to the revolting means by which the "confessions" were obtained on which the Germans were convicted and sentenced to death. For instance, Judge Van Roden has written that "all but two of the Germans, in the 139 cases we investigated, had been kicked in the testicles beyond repair." One curious feature of the case has been the lack of protest from Roman Catholic sources, for at least one fake Catholic priest was sent into the cells to hear confessions and give absolution, and then to advise the prisoners to sign anything the army prosecutors presented. In this way, the prisoners were told, they would gain their freedom, and the bogus priest, according to Judge Van Roden, added that "even though it [the signed confession] is false, I can give you absolution now in advance for the lie you'd tell." Senator Hoey's committee should insist on going through with its investigation, no matter what Mr. Royall does. Then those responsible for this outrage against American justice should be brought back to this country and court-martialed. And it would be a good idea, as the *Chicago Tribune* points out, to see to it that "the panel of officers sitting in judgment should be recruited from the national guard whose members cannot be terrorized by an American army Gestapo."

## Passing Events That Cast a Shadow

MARSHALL PLAN nations of Europe announced, at the latest meeting of their Organization for European Economic Cooperation, that they have abandoned all hope of adopting an integrated "master plan" for the economies of their countries. How far is this sudden lack of interest in economic reform due to the military guarantee offered these governments by the North Atlantic pact? . . . A radio station in South Norwalk, Connecticut, dropped a Methodist church off the air after the pastor allowed Henry Wallace to preach. The station's proprietor called the sermon "political." So it was, and so are most good sermons in this world which politics is making all but uninhabitable for religion. After thinking it over for several days, the station reversed its decision and the church is to resume broadcasting. . . . The Archbishop of Canterbury has again declared that the dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, is not speaking for him, for the chapter of Canterbury Cathedral or for the Church of England when he voices his pro-Soviet political views. How often does the archbishop think such disavowals are necessary? And how many does he think are suffering from this particular misapprehension? . . . Bishop Lajos Ordass, primate of the Hungarian Lutheran Church, is reported to have withdrawn his petition for a new trial. The bishop is serving a two-year sentence for infraction of currency regulations. . . . One result of the recent elections in Japan has been the rapid breakup of the moderate Democratic party, formerly the second largest in the country. The party recently divided into two wings,

one of which is expected to amalgamate with Premier Yoshida's Liberal (i.e., conservative) party, and the other to swing leftward, although possibly not all the way to the Communist extreme. The prospect is arising, however, that Japan will presently have a virtual two-party system, with conservatives and Communists dominating the nation's political struggle. . . . News from Burma is so unreliable that it is impossible to be sure what the present situation there actually is. Apparently, the Christian Karens have won Mandalay and much of the north, and the government is now offering them the autonomous state they have been demanding. If so, this is one revolutionary upheaval in Asia which is not forwarding Communist interests, for the Karens are anything but radical in their social and political outlook. . . . Fifty senators have written President Truman advocating a new gift of $1,500,000,000 to China to keep that country from falling into Communist hands. To whom would the money be given? For what would it be used? No one seems to be sure. The proposal, we fear, represents nothing more than the "for God's sake, do something!" atmosphere of Washington.

# Whose Religious Liberty?

OUR SYMPATHY goes out to the editors of that excellent Jesuit weekly, *America,* who feel compelled, in their issue of March 12, to make some apology for the suppression of religious liberty for Protestants in Spain, and some explanation of the complete concentration of Roman Catholic indignation upon the mistreatment of Catholics (as in the case of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary) to the exclusion of any articulate concern for the religious liberty of any except Roman Catholics. It is a hard assignment. These things are not easy for a journal of such intelligence and fine spirit to condone or to explain. *America* does its best, which is probably the best that could be done, but the best possible is not very good. The question was forced by Homer Bigart's four letters in the *New York Herald Tribune,* February 21-24, reporting on his recent observations in Spain. The answer calls for analysis:

1. "Spain is not the Catholic Church." Spanish policy toward Protestants is therefore to be regarded as specifically Spanish, not characteristically Catholic. This is the old excuse for the Inquisition: it was the state that did it, not the church. This has only a grain of superficial truth to a ton of fundamental error. It is true that the church does not pursue the same policy everywhere. But wherever a "Catholic state" partially or completely suppresses Protestants, it does so with the encouragement of the church and in conformity with the undisputed basic Catholic principle of politics—which is that the state *ought* to give special rights and protection to the Catholic Church and protect it against any competing faith.

2. The situation in Spain is not ideal, we are told, but it is not very bad. There have been incidents of illegal violence; but the Catholic clergy disapprove of the violent "molestation" of Protestants (this we can easily believe, in the main), and wish to have only strictly legal means used to prevent Protestant evangelism and Protestant worship in other than a strictly private manner. Such legal means are available. Franco's "bill of rights," adopted July 27, 1945, says:

> The profession and practice of the Catholic religion, which is the religion of the Spanish state, shall enjoy official protection. Nobody shall be molested for his religious belief or in the *private* exercise of his worship. No public ceremonies or demonstrations of any but the Catholic religion shall be allowed.

*America* apparently considers this not a bad arrangement in principle, though it thinks the Spanish "are often too rigid in their attitude toward such Protestants as already live in Spain." (*Still live* would be more accurate than "already live," for many have been executed or driven out by Franco—not explicitly on the ground that they were Protestants, of course, any more than Cardinal Mindszenty was explicitly condemned for being a Catholic.)

"Apart from the dogmatic claims of the Catholic Church to enjoy special rights, American Catholics can question the wisdom of insisting on legal discrimination *in the particular ways characteristic of Hispanic peoples.* . . . But American Catholics cannot be held accountable" —for the illiberal behavior of Spanish Catholics. There is some truth in this last statement, but it is not entirely true. The influence of American Catholics upon our government had much to do with permitting Franco to come to power, so they cannot completely disclaim responsibility for what he did when he came into power. Neither can it be successfully maintained that the legal and violent suppression of non-Catholics is simply an old Spanish custom. It is, rather, an old Catholic custom which began in the fourth century, continued without a break until the 16th, and has been in vogue wherever and whenever the church has been in power. The Spaniards learned their lesson of intolerance very well, but they had excellent non-Spanish teachers from Augustine on down.

As for the phrase with which this disclaimer opens, no faithful Catholic, American or other, *can* take his stand "apart from the dogmatic claims of the Catholic Church to enjoy special rights."

3. "Persecution" is too strong a word, *America* thinks, for what goes on in Spain. This may be true, at least in the sense that not everything is being done to Spanish Protestants that may be suggested by that very elastic term. They are allowed *some* rights and *some* liberties. Under 100 per cent persecution, they would have none. There have been times in Spain and elsewhere when Protestants had no rights, and briefer times in some Protestant countries when Catholics had none. The word is a little too vague to describe the present facts very exactly. In the interest of accuracy we will be willing to drop the word "persecution" in connection with the Spanish situation if *America* and the Catholic press generally will make their statements about it as full and factual as the available data will permit.

However, it does not make for clarity to equate the policies of Catholic Spain with those of Protestant Sweden. Yet this is attempted by *America* on the ground that the Catholics in Sweden, like the Protestants in Spain, cannot own church property without special permission of the government, and cannot occupy cabinet posts. These two

similarities should not be cited to divert attention from the many differences. The restrictions upon Protestants in Spain are much more drastic and far-reaching than the restrictions upon Roman Catholics in Sweden. But it is well that the similarities, so far as they go, should be cited.

4. *America* makes an ironical, but penetrating, allusion to the fact that Sweden is "apparently unaware (like England) of the 'great Protestant principle' of separation of church and state." This shaft should penetrate the armor of *some* Protestants. Separation between church and state ought to be a great Protestant principle, but historically it is not. It was a principle of early Christianity, and it has been a principle of the American government since the beginning of the federal period.

The alliance of church and state was an invention of the fourth century, or a primitive and pagan practice then adopted by Christendom. It was soon fortified by the baleful theory that the stability of the social and political order required the submission of every member of the secular community to one spiritual overlord. That philosophy prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. The great Protestant churches of the 16th century took it over and did their best to actualize it in their respective areas of dominance. The enforcement of conformity was gradually relaxed and civil rights were extended to nonconformists, but "establishment" lingered on in most European Protestant countries.

This is an unfortunate and embarrassing heritage from medieval Roman Catholicism. It always carries with it some degree of limitation upon the equal rights of citizens. These are greater in countries (like Sweden) where adherents of the established church are a large majority of the population than in those (like England) where they are a small minority. They are greater still in Roman Catholic countries, for the Roman Catholic Church has never weakened in its maintenance of the principle which *America* concisely describes as its "dogmatic claims to enjoy special rights." It has never renounced the theory that religious solidarity is essential to the social and political cohesion of a nation, and that a "Catholic state" (i.e., a state in which the church is powerful enough to have its way) must regard non-Catholics as second-class citizens.

Only a vestige of that medieval theory and practice remains where Protestant churches are established, but a vestige does remain. It weaves a shoddy strand into the fabric of the Protestant argument for religious liberty, because it tends to confuse and distort the concept of what religious liberty is. Perhaps it is a counsel of perfection to expect all the old Protestant state churches to give up the privileges and perquisites that they enjoy and take their stand on the ground of governmental nondiscrimination among citizens so far as concerns their religion and among churches. But Americans, at least, ought to stand fast in that attitude and testify against infringements of religious liberty wherever they are found. At present, some of the worst cases are in Hungary and Bulgaria, where Communist authorities have made a Catholic cardinal and a group of Protestant ministers their victims; and in Spain, where Roman Catholic authorities deprive Protestants of normal civil and religious rights.

*America* admirably ends its editorial by a plea that Christians of every name do not "fall into sectarian bickering" about religious liberty at a time like this when there is a real threat to all religion. Right! Let us add that sectarian bickering will be diminished if neither Catholics nor Protestants limit their sympathy to their respective co-religionists when liberty is infringed, and if neither will feel obligated to apologize for any oppressive (not to say "persecuting") practices of their own party.

# Military Alliance

DO THE PEOPLE of the United States believe that the way to secure lasting peace is to bind themselves in a military alliance with the nations of western Europe, and to serve notice on Russia that any aggression against these nations will mean war?

Do they believe that security and stability will be restored to the western world by guaranteeing the territorial integrity of eleven other nations, most of them strategically located around the perimeter of Communist Europe?

Do they believe that the Communist threat in countries like France, Italy and Germany can be met and repelled by rebuilding the armies of those countries as units in a grand alliance, financed, armed and very largely commanded by the United States?

Do they believe that the time has come to write off the United Nations as a failure and to turn back to the balance of power system of world relations?

These are the basic questions which the North Atlantic Defense Alliance, at long last revealed to public view, raises for answer. Deeply concerned citizens will answer them with equal sincerity in diametrically opposing ways. But it is to be hoped that before the United States Senate makes the final, irrevocable decision of ratification, there will be a sufficiently full and searching discussion of this alliance so that the entire American people may come to understand what it is and what it implies, and may register their informed will in Washington.

During these coming weeks the American people must be made to understand that their nation has been brought to a choice as fateful as any in its history. If the Senate ratifies this pact, the United States will be lifted out of its historic role as a power standing between Asia and Europe, free in its relations with both, to be annexed to Europe. It will nullify the universal obligations we have undertaken in the United Nations; it will push into the background the regional concerns we have had for more than a century in Asia. It will join the fate of this nation with the dying empires of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Portugal.

## I

There were no major surprises in the text of the treaty disclosed on March 18. Hence this paper finds no reason to alter its views as to the gravity of the issues involved. This is a hard-and-fast military alliance to which it is now expected that twelve nations will subscribe. Its fundamental concept is that these nations will treat an attack on the territory of any one of them—with such territory specifically defined to include the French departments of

North Africa—as an attack on all. Moreover, there is provision for "consultation," with implied subsequent common action, in case of internal uprisings or threats to the colonial holdings of any of the signatories.

As is traditionally the case with military alliances (consult the history of such European pacts and see!) the key sections of this one—Articles 4 and 5—are sufficiently ambiguous to allow for endless maneuver before the day of action and endless recrimination after. Article 5, which is supposed to be the big threat to a Russia bent on aggression, is loosely enough worded to make it possible for any member of the alliance to avoid resort to armed force if it does not "deem" that "necessary." Article 4 is deliberately drawn so that it can be made to mean much or little, as the immediate interests of the signatories may seem to dictate. If Britain and France profess to see no contradiction between this pact and their promises to Russia under their existing alliances with that state (as they say in Article 8 that they don't) then the diplomats can be counted on in future times of crisis to make the slippery language of these commitments accommodate itself to any desired national policy.

## II

Revelation of the terms of this alliance came after a series of remarkable last-minute maneuvers. First, Italy was invited to become one of the original signers, and after a boisterous session of the Italian parliament accepted. So the treaty can no longer rightly be called a North Atlantic Defense Alliance. Second, Portugal was also invited in on the ground floor, and is expected to accept. So the treaty can no longer rightly be called a pact of western democracies. Third, Denmark was invited in after her foreign minister was reported to have agreed, in consultations at Washington, to a permanent reactivation of the American wartime airfields in Greenland. So the design behind the pact of securing advanced airbases from which to throttle Russia was made more clear.

Most remarkable of all, however, were the inspired dispatches sent out from Washington the day before the treaty was published stating that plans for American rearmament of European nations were being cut down, during the first year of the alliance, to nothing more than rehabilitation of existing forces. Perhaps this reflected rising state department apprehension at Senate reaction to the prospective effect on American taxes of the armament lend-lease program by which it is understood this nation is expected to implement the alliance. Already the government is heading into the red for its next fiscal year. Budget experts say that if farm prices go lower, so that parity payments have to go higher, if Congress persists in voting for a 70-group airforce and if such a bill as the Rankin veterans' pension bill is passed, the deficit may reach $6 or $7 billion.

Here is reason enough to restrict lend-lease outlays to the billion or thereabouts it is estimated it would cost the United States to put the airforces and the twelve existing divisions of France, Britain, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Norway and Denmark in fighting trim. But this is only a beginning. At least 40, and many military men estimate twice that many, mechanized divisions must be ready for instant action in western Europe before the Red army will be overawed. At $400 million a division, which is about what the cost runs these days, that would mean from $16 to $32 billion—a tidy additional sum to load off on the U. S. taxpayer. No wonder the state department is already cutting down on its predictions of what this country will do to rearm its allies, and has not so far released any definite lend-lease figures whatever!

Secretary Acheson spent much of his time when presenting the alliance insisting on its defensive nature and excoriating any other view. Mr. Bevin did the same thing when he disclosed it to the British Parliament. Reading its text, said the British foreign minister, would establish its character. Does not the text say that it is for defense only? This is childish. The question is not what the text says—there never was a military alliance which did not announce its peaceful and defensive purposes—but what the Russians think. As John Foster Dulles said at Cleveland, any alliance which includes nations located as close to Russian territory as are Norway and Denmark is bound to be regarded in Russia as a threat.

On February 20 James Reston contributed a long article to the *New York Times* which has an important bearing on the question whether this alliance is actually defensive or otherwise. Mr. Reston's dispatches continually show such access to information in the most closely guarded recesses of the state department that we sometimes suspect him of spending most of his time hidden under the desk of the secretary of state. In this particular dispatch he told how two conceptions had ruled in negotiation of the Atlantic pact. In the beginning this had been conceived as a means of making clear to Americans that "certain areas of Europe were vital to our security" and providing for their defense. But then the military men took over with their conception "that we were trying to create a military combination so strong, so well armed and so well supplied with actual and potential bases within striking distance of the Soviet Union that the Politburo in Moscow would not dare to risk aggression." The military men won out. It is on their insistence that Norway, Italy and Portugal are included.

But if this is the truth concerning the inner nature of the alliance as it has finally been formed, is not the inescapable consequence that Moscow's military men may be expected to demand that they shall be permitted to make such countermoves as are required to neutralize the base-acquiring moves of Washington's military men? And where will that sort of thing, military move and countermove, eventually land us?

## III

With the impending signing of this treaty of military alliance and its transmission to the Senate for ratification, the most important debate in American history since that over adherence to the League of Nations is opening. We hope this debate will not exhaust itself in wrangles over textual details or the constitutional prerogatives of the Senate. We hope it centers the attention of the country on the two principal issues that are involved. The first concerns regional pacts as the road of the nations to peace and security. The second concerns the fate of the United Nations.

Regional pacts are being held up these days as a means

of deliverance on the ground that contiguity gives a community of interest which permits swift, powerful, common action to overawe any potential aggressor and to beat him back if he is so foolhardy as to attack. (It might be pointed out that the "contiguity" of the region covered by this alliance is an illusion, but let that pass for the present.) The main trouble with this argument is that experience has shown that when one "zone of safety" has thus been marked out, its delimitation only serves to reveal another which, from the military man's standpoint, requires another pact.

Thus the pact of Rio leads to the North Atlantic alliance. And France's foreign minister has already told his parliament that the North Atlantic must be bolstered by a Mediterranean pact. And the chief European correspondent of the *New York Times,* C. L. Sulzberger, on March 17 predicted that a Mediterranean pact would lead to a Middle East pact. And in the same week Britain, New Zealand and Australia opened discussions in Canberra which the Australian defense minister said were aimed at "a Pacific defense pact similar to the proposed North Atlantic alliance." Where is this sort of thing leading? Is it not to the forging of another ring of steel around Russia? Is it not to the revival and enlargement of all the phobias against encirclement that have already brought such calamity on mankind? And is it not bound to rob the United Nations of its last bit of value?

We know the fears of Russian expansion which fill the minds of most Americans. We know that in the present state of public opinion, some policy of "collective security" is sure to be adopted to deal with the Communist threat. (We wish it were not so. We wish that the mass mind saw this problem as fundamentally different in nature from the kind of problem that can be solved by military force. But that does not alter the state of public thinking.) There will be a military solution of some sort attempted to hold Communism in check, based on the premise that the United Nations cannot provide this.

We do not believe, however, that regional alliances provide the wise way of acting, even in terms of collective security. Not only is the United States likely to exhaust itself trying to put strength into such regional alliances, but long before the last link in this chain of steel has been forged, we fear, the desperate Russians, whom we are thus trying to push into a corner, will try to break out somewhere. That means war.

And what will this reliance on regional alliances do to the United Nations? Mr. Acheson is almost as vehement in asserting that the North Atlantic alliance will in no way undermine the U.N. as in asserting that it is solely defensive. But his protestations are not convincing. For just as this alliance draws a permanent dividing line across Europe and says to Russia, "We will defend the nations we have designated on this side of our line," so it will draw a permanent dividing line through the U.N. It will break that world body up into regional blocs, each with its own council, each with its own military staff and establishment.

Trygve Lie, secretary general of the U.N., has repeatedly warned that regional pacts must be subordinated in fact and not merely in word to the authority of the U.N. if they are not to wreck that body. The North Atlantic pact, when it ignores Article 53 of the U.N. Charter, shows that it means virtually to bypass that body. Ernest Bevin all but derided the U.N. in presenting the pact to Parliament. And how could it be otherwise? For the alliance represents a final return by the western nations to balance of power politics which is fatal to the conception of a world organization.

The United Nations may be as close to failure as Mr. Bevin holds. (We are not ready to concede this, but do not have space to argue the point here.) Yet see what, in putting our faith in a military alliance, we are doing to provide an alternative. We are going back to a conception of international organization that has never worked well or for long, and that has always carried the seed of disastrous breakdown within it. It is our fear and our belief that this will happen again which makes us oppose the ratification of this alliance.

# 'Won't You Sit Down?'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Did it ever occur to you to what a great extent ecclesiastical language is filled with sedentary terms? Sitting down seems to be the thing we do most of, according to the churchly vocabulary. In one way or another, it plays a large part in the language of Zion. Could it be that that is, partly at least, what is the matter with us—sitting down too much?

For a long time, and even yet in some places, people were assigned "sittings" in churches. Churches proudly recorded the number of their "sittings." Apparently places to stand up and work in were never given out. The old word "pewholders" reflects the glorious art of sitting down. The episcopal "see" was the seat of a bishop. Archbishops, cardinals and popes are still "enthroned"—that is, given a place to sit down. We are presided over by "chairmen," and theological schools and colleges are decorated by "chairs" of this and that. Parishioners will tell you proudly that they "sat" under Dr. So-and-so; whether they stood beside him in his labors is not specified. Sometimes one cannot escape the feeling that if some of the saints are ever to get to heaven they will have to be carried there in a sedan chair or pulled in a rickshaw. Thus they can continue their chief occupation on earth—sitting.

The commonest line spoken in the theater, statisticians of such things say, is, "Won't you sit down?" Rare is the play where it does not come in, at least in the first act. Perhaps the same line has bulked too large in the speech of the church.

Battles are never won from a sitting position. All the military traditions follow the model of Henry V's "Once more into the breach, dear friends!" Henry was not occupying a chair when he led the charge at Agincourt.

There is a text in Ezekiel that speaks to the condition of a congregation glued fast to its "sittings": "Son of Man, stand upon thy feet." And there is a hymn to go with it: "Rise up, O men of God." What more do you want for next Sunday?

Yours sitting in contemplation,

SIMEON STYLITES.

# Of Duty and Destiny

*Third Article on 'How My Mind Has Changed in the Last Decade'*

By Buell G. Gallagher

TEN YEARS AGO, at 34, I stood midway in a decade of presiding over a liberal arts college in Alabama. We had gathered together a body of younger and older scholars among whom learning occasionally climbed the heights of real achievement. We had built the institutional patterns within which greater degrees of democracy were obtainable. In the heart of the deep south we lived together, Negroes and whites, without any distinctions of any kind, defying Jim Crow.

Outward symbols of our achievement were a magnificent new library building with its striking Woodruff murals of the "Amistad" incident of 1839, the completion of a million-dollar endowment drive, better salaries, higher admission standards for students, participation in a study of general education along with a score of other colleges throughout the nation, growing enrollment figures, wider participation in interracial activities both on and off campus, and the beginnings of an easier tolerance toward the college by the not too friendly local white community.

Meantime, we had given asylum to one family driven from Hitler's Germany, and this immediate touch with world troubles accented the feelings of apprehension and distrust about world affairs which were yet to ripen into fear or to galvanize action. Within our fellowship were pacifists and non-pacifists, who variously viewed the first peacetime draft and the construction of a huge powder plant a few miles from the campus—at a cost that would have built and endowed sixty colleges like our own. It was a time of strengthening our stakes as we lengthened our ropes, for we thought we saw a storm approaching.

II

Thus, as the thirties drew to a close, my mind was concerned mightily with the dilemmas of America in defending a democracy it only partly desired to possess. It was not only a problem of means and ends; it was also a problem of preference and desire. If we wanted democracy, how could we expect to maintain or defend it with the tools of militarism and racism? And if we got democracy, would it not actually be more of a punishment on disbelievers than a consummation of common hopes?

Looking back over the decade, reading again the speeches and sermons I delivered as the thirties closed, I see that I was doggedly following the theme set out in my inaugural address in 1933 under the title, "The World's Extremity: Our Opportunity." I conscientiously believed that the time of crisis which began with the great depression and was about to erupt in the greatest war increased the burden but also opened new doors. If race tensions were increased (as they certainly were), then that made people all the more conscious of the need for a ministry of reconciliation. As world conflict threatened, the imperatives of the ways of peace were underlined.

Looking back, I see also that in part I was projecting a localized experience onto a wider canvas, attempting to give answers to world problems in terms of campus adjustments. There at Talladega College, we had managed to create an island of sanity and decency in the midst of an indecent and unconscionable color caste system. Every year we sent graduates out into the world as emissaries of constructive democratic living. From my present perspective, I can see that ten years ago I probably permitted myself to feel that it was possible to carry out something of the same kind of process with reference to war and international relations. Perhaps, I thought then, perhaps it is the job of men and women of religion to serve in the coming period of storm as the monks did during the Dark Ages of Europe: to keep the candles of learning and piety alight against the day when they could once again be carried out from the cloister to kindle the gray hearths of civilization.

However, no matter what I may have been telling myself about the monastic function of religion in a time of social disintegration, I was continually active off campus as well as on. A liberal number of articles came from my typewriter, and there were literally hundreds of speaking engagements every year. With the coming of Executive Order 8802 and the FEPC, we managed to break the jimcrow patterns of employment in a local war plant. There was I, a publicly acknowledged pacifist who had sought unsuccessfully to be classified IV-E, using my energies to get Negroes integrated in the war effort! Shortly afterwards, I was to spend the most strenuous ten days of my life in and out of the Pentagon building in Washington, interviewing everyone from the secretary of war down to the humblest major in a fruitless effort to convince the military that they should include Negroes in their preparations for military government.

In that now remote year of 1939, my mind was concerned with the harassing problem of compromise. I was committed to certain fairly clear ethical notions of brotherhood, justice, equality and peace. That commitment was regularized in the habits of my life, and had important theological and religious dimensions. But just as I found it necessary to conform to the jimcrow laws when riding the trains out of the south to raise money to keep the college going, so I knew that life never, at any time or place, gives one choices between a clean, clear good and a clear-cut evil. I never have been an absolutist or a purist. But like many another man trained in the 1920's I was a child of liberalism, and so I was having difficulty growing up.

Nevertheless, I could find neither help nor useful insight in the tortuous dialectic with which neo-orthodoxy managed to obfuscate ethical problems with theological cloud. If the old liberalism was insufficient, the new orthodoxy was an affront. All I could do was to keep

going and hope that I might somehow ride out the storm, and later determine what port to steer for.

## III

As I write these lines, I have completed five years as professor of Christian ethics in a theological seminary. I have just emerged from the intensive activity of a political campaign in which I ran for Congress and garnered 49 per cent of the vote. I stand at a critical crossroads of vocational decision; and I must make that decision in the presence of a world scene which has in it few elements that are reassuring and much that is disquieting.

I hope that I am a bit less immature at 44 than at 34. There are fewer certainties than formerly. But they go much deeper. For the most part, they go in the same general directions as before. But having pierced the shallower strata, the drills of experience are beginning to find moisture—and occasionally water. If at first that water comes up a bit muddied by the drilling, I am not the one to complain. It has been a long drought.

Ten years ago, I was forced to defend myself with a philosophy of compromise. Today, I fundamentally and categorically reject that whole frame of reference. There is something fundamentally wrong with a thought-frame which alternately makes us prigs and hypocrites and plunges us into frustrating rationalization. Life never was for me a process of getting through a nasty world without sullying one's own integrity or surrendering one's privately held convictions. The dimensions of social responsibility lifted me out of that particular morass of introspective self-righteousness. But at the same moment I was thereby plunged into a task of social reconstruction which, by comparison, made the life of private piety both easy and seductively enticing.

Today, I know that the warfare between principle and practice will never be resolved either by compromise or by surrender. Not in my life or lifetime—nor in any other's. There is a battle which has engaged the attention of earnest men of good will through many generations; and I now hold it to be a sham battle, because the terms in which it is set forth are incapable of being resolved.

I reject the alternatives posed by both theological liberalism and the new orthodoxy. Evil is not to be thought of as temporarily unresolved difficulty which will yield to superior knowledge and effort tomorrow (as the more naive liberals sometimes seem to think). Nor is man created to waste his life away nursing the duodenal ulcers born of the self-imposed inner tensions between idealistic perfection and sordid reality (as at least some of the proponents of neo-orthodoxy give the impression of believing). Man is not merely a potential saint, not merely an actual sinner. He is both—and therefore he is, in essence, neither.

## IV

Thus far I have written autobiographically, because I hold that thought and action are inseparable. To tell what has happened to my mind, I must tell what changes of life have taken place. Thought is, indeed, one mode of acting; but we can countenance only that thought which is related to acting and which leads intelligence to inform conduct with value judgments supported by conscience. If, then, this piece of shameless exhibitionism is to be of any use to others, I must now make the effort to see what generalized insights may emerge. The practical and theoretical problems must be attacked and solved together if we are to meet success with either.

Religious persons commonly push the ultimate cause of all things back to God. Does this mean that God is responsible for evil—not merely suffering, but moral evil as well? Is God imperfectly good? Or perfectly good, but not all-powerful? Is he subject to some destiny or fate beyond his control? Or do we suppose that he is only slowly developing? Or manifesting himself but gradually? Or are we driven to split the world in half, acknowledge a radical force of evil as well as good, and affirm the reality of both Devil and God? And do we then make that dualism eternal in duration as well as radical in rootage? And if none of these alternatives commends itself to us, shall we then assert that man is the master of his own destiny, cast deity aside, and suppose that the moral struggle and its values are purely human in their origins and have relevance only to human affairs?

These questions are faced also by the irreligious person, as the history of human thought and action shows. If the ultimate cause be sought not in God but in some materialistic, mechanistic or organismic causation, the ultimate mystery is no less a mystery for being clothed in nonspiritual dress. If an ultimate agnosticism is posited, life's practical decisions continually force the abandonment of alleged indifference and the acceptance of one or another set of values in operation. Agnosticism is possible in theory only. Practically, life's decisions are made with either a theistic or an atheistic basis or bias.

But traditional theism, far from resolving the problems of the moral life, actually presents us with untenable alternatives. These have customarily been stated as one or another form of fatalism or one or another form of freedom, or some attempted compromise or synthesis of the two. At the fatalistic extreme, in either its supernaturalistic or its naturalistic form, we deny the reality of man's freedom. We are then unable to hold man accountable. The basis of the ethical struggle is cut away. Life's meaning is jeopardized. At the opposite end of the scale, when we assert man's freedom to determine his own destiny, such libertarianism makes a supernatural framework either an impossibility or an absurdity or—what comes to the same thing in a naturalistic world—an unexplained miracle.

For the determinists, a false fatalism is the basis of an equally false optimism: God is in control, and in his own good time he will set straight the disjointed hour. For the libertarians, an assertion of the reality of free will and the efficacy of effort is rightly to be appraised as psychological compensation for the lack of practical freedom in action. So either little is attempted because the potential of social dynamics is underestimated, or, if the sights are raised to include the ideal, frustrations are multiplied in a bootstraps effort that proves bootless. For the determinist, idealism becomes an escape from reality and responsibility. For the libertarian, it is merely the measure of defeat or frustration.

And the proposed compromises between these two points of view do not promise much. For example, the alleged

reconciliation proposed in the currently much admired "paradox" succeeds only in establishing even more sharply the antagonism between the two positions it seeks to mediate. What is more, it forces each man who accepts it to entertain this antagonism within himself, creating psychological instability and nervous strain. Under these circumstances, compromise becoming unbearable, there is a tendency to find some curious expression in tangential or eccentric directions irrelevant to the course of history —an eventuality which is avoided only by an assiduous and never ending search for the bearable compromise, the acceptable degree of sinning.

V

Meanwhile, we demand certainties. The tragic experiences of this century, with its thirty years' war in which an armistice of exhaustion halted the shooting phases and the second exhaustion hangs over us as an ominous portent of impending catastrophe, have served to demonstrate that we can no longer afford the aimlessness and drift which have characterized modern man. We also see that dogmatism is no more the answer today than it ever was—even as we yearn for it. Even though we recognize that a rough-and-ready pragmatism is a luxury we can no longer afford, we ought to be able to see that a return to dogmatism is no answer to our difficulties.

This maturing demand for certainty in the United States, insisting on some base of operation, some reliable and altogether trustworthy sense of direction, is a mild form of the bellicose virus which has infected much of Europe—fascists, Marxists and Catholics alike. There are not lacking signs that we Americans are beginning to fall prey to the same anxieties which will breed their own peculiar tenacities and extremes of dogmatic authoritarianism. Uniformitarianism based on authority (in our case, the authority is "free enterprise" and "democracy") begins by many to be preferred to the fears and forebodings of free societies. The revulsion we rightly feel against the tyrannies of totalitarian societies abroad becomes a strange poison in our own systems, feeding our flesh on another variant of the same fever.

The almost inevitable certainty with which we now appear to accept the coming atomic clash between East and West is the measure of the immaturity of our outlook and of the lack of a profoundly true faith with which to guide our present decisions. And the inadequacy of our theological, ethical and political processes (not to mention ecclesiastical!) to inform our next steps highlights our predicament. We have yet to discover, in clear and compelling terms, the meaning of moral responsibility.

VI

Fundamentally, our mistake in thought, which is interwoven with our errors in action, has been the drawing of a false antithesis between freedom and determinism, with the consequent declaration that the two are irreconcilable or that they constitute a "paradox." Most, if not all, theologies and philosophies of which I am presently aware (together with their appended schools of ethics, politics, economics, psychology, sociology and natural science) tend to work within the false logical box set up by this pair of polarities. Within that logical box, which is contrary to experience and viciously vitiates human effort, there is no answer to man's fundamental urge for life. As long as we regard determinism and freedom as contradictory opposites, or as paradoxically opposed, we shall never get out of the illogic which rationalizes our present frustration and paralyzes moral action.

What the alternative may be, what other way out, must be stated on some other occasion in somewhat more extended form. But this much I know, and now know well: there is another way out. This way affirms neither freedom nor fatalism. Nor does it hold the two in a paradoxical compromise of tension. It finds the key to a man's destiny not in an alleged notion of his nature or in an alleged revelation of the nature of God. It finds man's destiny writ clearly in his duty.

Man is a responsible moral agent whose choices and decisions are part of the actual determining of history. Always these choices are made in a particular historical context—never independently either of the limitations of that moment or of the consequences which follow the decision. This means, with reference to the idea of God, that profound modifications of the notions both of creation and of causation are in order. It means, with reference to man's life choices, a new grasp on the significance of our heritage so that with sure and deft strokes we may take a hand in shaping the future which waits on the decisions of the hour.

Whether we are to have the leisure in which to reform our thought-and-action so as to become fully conscious moral agents, I do not know. Certainly the job of practical statesmanship is to buy that time, and not to dissipate the opportunity. If politics wins the time, will theology come up with the answers?

# *VERSE*

## *Vanguard*

FROM the shadows of our fear
Like near-blind bats we dimly peer,
While the thinkers stride ahead—
Sun-bright are the paths they tread.

MARY B. WALL.

## *Lent*

HERE is the hill. Let us begin the climb
Into clear air, and into cloudless light.
Breath on hard breath, measuring hours by height,
And in the slow ascent transforming time.

Seen from this mountain is no devil's view:
The kingdoms of the world are all God's own.
Him we must worship. In this crystal zone
We see more nearly what we never knew.

And with perspective we the fiend outface.
Sky is less changed than earth by altitude,
Less changed than life; by the new heart construed
Earth's pale geography falls into place.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

# German Churches Fail Youth

By Iain Wilson

A DISAPPOINTING FEATURE of postwar church history in Germany has been the weakness of the impact made by Evangelical Christianity upon youth outside the churches. While much has been done, largely in cooperation with the ecumenical movement, to assist and develop youth work *within* the churches, little coherent effort has been made to evangelize the hordes of youthful Germans whose former nationalist faith received such a shattering blow with the defeat and partition of the Reich. The great vacuum left in the soul of young Germany in 1945 invited occupation by Christian faith, but it has not been filled by the churches. The obvious danger of nihilism in this considerable group now merges with the danger that it may embrace the revolutionary violence of communism or nationalism.

It is therefore worth while to analyze some of the reasons for the apparent failure of the churches and to indicate some modes of action which might still be fruitful. Of course, such analysis and suggestions, when made by a foreigner, may seem impertinent. The only excuse this writer can offer is that he has been closely and to some degree actively connected with postwar religious developments inside Germany, and has sought to understand earnestly and sympathetically the complex spiritual tragedy of the present generation of German youth.

No foreign observer is entitled to pass any censorious judgment upon the Evangelical churches for their failure to "rise to the occasion." The effectiveness of church youth work in other countries leaves so much to be desired, and the Germans have had to face such special difficulties, that any outside criticism must be given in a spirit of genuine humility and brotherhood. It remains possible, however, while bearing all that in mind, to enumerate some reasons for a situation which in itself is more than regrettable—which is tragic, and pregnant with further calamity for Europe and the world.

## I

The sheer physical weakness of the German churches has been a serious deterrent to energetic spiritual action. Lack of buildings, fuel, lighting, equipment, literature, transportation—and, since the currency reform of June 1948, of money—has had a terrible effect. Even now, church youth publications are quite inadequate, and the powerful medium of the printed word is hardly available despite gifts of paper and cellulose from abroad.

The manpower shortage is also formidable. Not only were thousands of excellent Christian youth leaders lost in the war, but many of those who remain are crippled and exhausted. Their small energies are almost entirely required by the mere struggle for existence.

Further, the military governments were very slow to recognize the special needs of church youth. During the first crucial year of the occupation, no adequate staff was provided to care for these needs. The position in this respect, despite the excellent work done by the Western military governments in the sphere of church affairs, remains unsatisfactory. This has had a direct bearing upon such things as the allocation of paper, building materials and transportation for organized church youth work.

Even in face of these physical difficulties, however, the Evangelical churches might have achieved a good deal more had they adopted a different attitude toward unchurched youth. A more genial and humane approach to the sullen, suspicious, ignorant and desperately miserable youngsters might have won a response where a chilly pietism, a rigidly theological outlook and an exclusive emphasis upon Bible study merely repelled the spiritually uninstructed and bewildered. The writer recently heard Dr. Walter Freytag, the famous German missionary leader, say that behind the churches' failure in this field lay a "loveless" attitude toward youth. Loving care and longing for the young might well have brought about a more imaginative and sympathetic method of approach.

This fact is well understood by many of the younger clergy, especially of the Confessional Church group, who are also willing to concede that Britain and America might be able to contribute useful ideas in the area of approach techniques. But the older generation of Evangelical clergy are suspicious of so-called "Anglo-Saxon" methods, which appear to them to be superficial. These older men are still largely in control of church youth work, though Reinold von Thadden's recent return to Germany may produce some change in their attitude.

It must also be remembered that large numbers of intelligent and earnest youngsters outside the churches, especially in the universities, were violently repelled by the Stuttgart declaration on guilt. Quite wrongly, many of them felt that this declaration was a stab in the back; that they had simply done their duty in war but that the churches were now branding them as criminally guilty. The declaration itself—a noble Christian utterance —*had* to be made, but its authors realized at the time that it was bound to be misunderstood and misinterpreted by non-Christians. This is unquestionably what has happened in the case of many young men who might otherwise have been accessible to the Christian message.

## II

A further important factor has been the preoccupation of Evangelical church leaders with tasks other than the evangelism of youth. Relatively low priority was given youth work. Quite apart from the urgent practical problems, it now seems clear that a primary concern of church leaders since 1945 has been with purely organizational and confessional matters. The long series of national and regional conferences beginning at Treysa in August 1945 and culminating three years later at Eisenach, with all the enormous accompanying expenditure of time, thought and energy, have been more concerned with the attempt

to reorganize the relationships among the provincial churches *(Landeskirchen)* and to clarify the relationships between the various confessional groupings than with any sustained or constructive attempt to evangelize Germany's apostate millions. However necessary such internal rearrangements may have been, and however great the degree of success attained—and this appears still to be a matter for debate—there is no doubt that this preoccupation has prevented church leaders from grappling wholeheartedly with the challenge of Germany's spiritually homeless youth.

This last factor is of importance in many ways, and not least because it owes its existence in considerable measure to the pressure exerted on German church leaders by churches outside Germany. The Lutheran churches of America in particular have been deeply interested in the creation of the new United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany, whose formation under the leadership of Bishop Meiser they hail as a notable victory for what they profoundly believe to be constructive confessionalism. It is interesting, however, to note that many European Lutherans are not entirely happy about the type of moral pressure mentioned. Symptomatic of this is the fact that some German Lutheran provincial churches, including that of Oldenburg, thus far refuse to associate themselves with the new national church.

The interconfessional "Confessional Church," which fought the nazis and which many hoped would be the forerunner of united Evangelical Christianity in Germany, has lost the initiative which it had in 1945. More than three years of intensive debate, often accompanied by sharp personal tensions, and of no real interest to the laymen of the churches, have produced a loose over-all federation of Evangelical churches within which is a compact Lutheran Church. The main future objectives of this United Lutheran Church, as described by Bishop Meiser in a recent interview, will be to strengthen Lutheran confessionalism, to build cooperation among the Lutheran churches, to unify liturgical practice and to produce a unified hymnbook. No mention of youth.

It is difficult to see how this development can be of direct spiritual relevance to the millions of half-starved, homeless, spiritually puny youngsters who drift about Germany today, leaderless and bewildered and embittered, potentially explosive material for a new political demagogue. A responsibility before God rests upon those who have spent the better part of three crucial years in arguments over church order and the Reformation confessions while finding no winning and comprehensible word for the lost sheep. It may be that if the church leaders had abandoned themselves to the task of evangelism, they would have found the solution of their confessional disagreements in that very activity. But little help in this direction has come from denominational leaders abroad.

In spite of all this, certain valuable forward movements have been made, which call for further support. The work of the *Studentengemeinden*—the German equivalent of the Student Christian Movement—has been outstandingly good in universities and technical high schools, under the guidance of such men as Martin Fischer. The students, comparatively indifferent to the confessional disputes of their elders, have managed to extend their groups strikingly. Typical of this growth is the situation in Dresden, where the Bible study group has tripled its pre-1939 numbers.

Again, though not primarily concerned with young people, the Evangelical academies, led by Eberhard Mueller and Bishop Hanns Lilje, are doing much to break down the barriers between the churches, the professions and labor leaders. All this will have a real, if indirect, effect upon non-church youth.

The excellent "Youth Office" of the churches, led by Manfred Mueller, though still inhibited by a highly stylized and rigid technique, shows a real intention of approach to industrial youth. In conjunction with the men's work organization and the Hilfswerk, it is increasingly resolved to confront non-church youth with the challenge and invitation of the gospel. There are many study centers, work camps and cooperative enterprises, such as those in Espelkamp, Bad Rottland and Heilsberg, where the possibility of fruitful contact is being exploited by one or another of these agencies. All such ventures need a great deal more of the financial and moral support which they are getting in some measure from Church World Service.

## III

There are other cases, too, where the churches of foreign countries have been able to help substantially in bridging the gulf between the church and unchurched youth. Particularly effective work was done at St. Michael's House, Hamburg. This was a joint effort of the church of Hamburg and the British military government, where the most widely diverse groups of youth were given training courses in Christian faith and life. The World Council also has secured some assistance from its member churches in promoting international work camps in Germany.

The council's best contribution, in the writer's view, has been the provision of five young American laymen to live and work for an extended period alongside church youth leaders in Germany. It is unfortunate that there could not have been many scores of such workers, women as well as men, to share the day-to-day problems and activities of the Germans. However, if the will exists and the means are forthcoming, there seems to be no reason why this plan should not be expanded. Manfred Mueller has repeatedly told the writer that this contribution of *men* has meant more for the spread of new ideas and methods and confidence than any other single operation carried out by the churches abroad.

The future spiritual and moral condition of Germany is an affair of intense practical concern for the whole church. It is mortifying to think that so many who might have been won for the Christian faith have been allowed for one reason or another to harden into indifference or opposition and increasingly to turn to false gods. It is tragic that the unparalleled opportunities which existed in 1945 have been squandered, largely through preoccupation with a theological battle whose issues are dwarfed by the immense evil potentialities latent in those unevangelized millions. One can only hope and pray that now, at last, the churches in Germany may make a fresh approach to this problem, encouraged by wise, brotherly and practical help from their fellow churches elsewhere.

*The Third Article in a Series of Three on Protestant-Catholic Relations in France*

# Catholicism Recovers the Bible

By Jean Bosc

HAVE the postwar years seen a confirmation of that movement toward mutual understanding which took form in France between 1920 and 1930? That is the question with which the previous article ended. Generally speaking, it can be answered with a plain affirmative.

Viewing the matter externally, one might indeed be tempted to give a different answer. In the political upheaval that rocked France after the 1940 armistice, the general Protestant attitude differed from that of a large part of Catholicism, as often before where crucial issues were concerned. The hierarchy and the mass of Catholics supported the Pétain government and adopted a rather opportunist policy, while the majority of Protestants, and practically the entire body of Protestant clergymen, entertained strong sympathies for the resistance. The story went around—I do not know whether it is based on fact, but it is significant—that Allied fliers were advised that if they fell on occupied territory they should go straight to the Protestant rectory. I mentioned this story to a Dominican father, and he retorted whimsically: "With us, it's the opposite."

### *Resistance and Ecumenicity*

Still it is true that within Catholicism also there was a notable resistance movement. Interestingly, many of the Catholic resisters were also deeply concerned over the ecumenical problem. The common fight on the political plane brought them and the Protestants together the more closely because the resistance had a basis and overtones which were distinctly of a spiritual order. Common action was organized, one of the most typical results of which was the secret publication of leaflets. Then a little periodical, *Christian Witness,* was issued, which became the bond linking together the "Front for Spiritual Resistance against Hitlerism."

The leaflets were edited jointly by Catholics, like the Jesuit Father Chaillet, and Protestants, like Pastor Roland de Pury. Necessarily Catholics and Protestants cooperated not only in editing these publications but also in printing and distributing them. So they learned to know and respect each other, and at the same time they discovered the possibility of common spiritual action. After the liberation, for many reasons, *Christian Witness* gradually became an almost exclusively Catholic publication, which now appears weekly. But surely the shared experiences of the occupation period have not been lost.

It seems to me that those years of the war and the subsequent years were marked by both a deepening and an expansion of the movement launched between 1920 and 1930. First, a large and increasing number of Catholics and Protestants alike were led to face the problem of church unity. Every year the "Week of Universal Prayer for Christian Unity," held January 18-25, is being observed in more and more churches. This "week," initiated many years ago by two Anglicans, is naturally often the occasion for meetings between Protestants and Catholics in France, as in other countries.

### *Bishops Encourage Interfaith Contacts*

Again, here and there members of the Catholic hierarchy abandoned the policy of prudent silence and encouraged—sometimes even promoted—contacts among Christians of different confessions. Thus Cardinal Liénard, bishop of Lille, publicly demonstrated his interest in the efforts being made for unity. Thus also Msgr. Théas, bishop of Montauban, who played an important role in the resistance during the war, early in 1945 invited the priests of his diocese and the pastors of the region to his bishopric for a friendly meeting. There a Catholic and a Protestant theologian each set forth his church's stand on some question of doctrine, and an amicable discussion followed.

It certainly seems that Catholic interest in Protestant thought and life is increasing. In 1945, the well known Catholic writer Daniel Rops expressed the desire to add to a series he was editing for the Plon publishing house a volume on French Protestantism. Such a volume, written by several Protestant pastors and laymen and including an article on the problem of unity by a Jesuit, did in fact appear under the title, *Protestantisme français.* The next year the Dominicans also published a book, *Positions protestantes,* which contained articles by a number of pastors on certain aspects of Protestantism, together with a concluding commentary, sympathetic in tone, by a Dominican father. Moreover, periodicals like *Études* (Jesuit) and the *Vie Intellectuelle* (Dominican) regularly present very well informed accounts of the churches of the Reformation.

### *The Bible—An Ecumenical Book*

To complete the picture, it must be added that the return to the Bible, described in last week's article as an important factor in the ecumenical movement, has gained in emphasis and has become more widespread. An ardent friend of unity, the Jesuit Maurice Villain, recently wrote in the first volume of a series which he called "Toward Unity": "Let us open our Bible daily, following the example of our Christian brethren who in this respect have clung to Catholic custom better than we have. . . . For the Book of Life to recapture its meaning as a mark of unity among all who call upon Christ—this, it seems to me, is a condition for the progress of the ecumenical movement toward a recovery of the whole of what has been 'given and revealed.' "

The hope expressed by Father Villain seems indeed to be on the way to realization, at least in a section of Catholicism. For instance, in a French Catholic seminary which trains missionary priests coming from all the dioceses of the country, the administration has put into the hands

of the students as a book for daily study *Le Dessein de Dieu* by Suzanne de Dietrich. Suzanne de Dietrich is a Protestant and a professor at the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, and her book is an elucidation of God's design in the light of the Bible.

A reassuring picture. Unfortunately, we must look also at the other side of the coin. This other side is perfectly illustrated by the official Vatican pronouncement of June 8, 1948: "Since it has come to our attention that in various places, contrary to the decrees of canon law and without the permission of the Holy See, meetings between Catholics and Protestants have taken place, in which questions relating to the faith have been discussed, we remind all that according to rule 1325 paragraph 3 it is forbidden, to lay persons as well as to clergy, to take part in such meetings without previous permission. Even less is it allowable for Catholics to arrange or institute meetings of this sort."

What effect will this pronouncement have? Does such a declaration not give the death blow to the efforts toward ecumenicity that have been made in France? As a matter of fact, the authority of the pope and the intransigence of the Vatican have always hovered menacingly over Protestant-Catholic relations and have often introduced a certain malaise into them. There is no doubt but that among the Catholics, clerical and lay, who are concerned for the unity of the church some are ready to bow to the authority of their "infallible" head. But on the other hand has not this movement toward unity taken on so great an importance in wide circles that it would be difficult to dam it up at this stage? A Jesuit, Fr. Jean Daniélou, recently wrote in the Protestant weekly *Réforme* the following on the non-participation of the Roman Church in the Amsterdam assembly of the World Council of Churches: "It ought to be understood that if there were no [official Catholic] observers at Amsterdam it was not because Catholics are uninterested in ecumenicity but on the contrary because the ecumenical current has become so strong in Catholicism that it must be directed and controlled, lest it fall into obvious exaggerations."

And finally, it must not be forgotten that the Catholics have rediscovered the Bible, and continue to rediscover it day by day. In a sense the Bible is a dangerous book. It proclaims the word of God. It imparts hunger and thirst for truth. It makes men free by the action of the Holy Spirit. Already a greater freedom in the face of their hierarchical authorities and a real desire to reform their church are evident among the Catholic lay persons and young clergymen who read the Bible and seek the unity of Christendom. Even though this movement takes in only a wing of Catholicism, nevertheless it exists and is active. There is no telling how far it will go. But its presence is a ground for hope, in spite of papal opposition.

Meanwhile, Protestants must remain open-minded and understanding. They do not have a monopoly of truth, and their churches also have known narrowness and error. Unity cannot be achieved except as all submit to the word of God and rediscover each other in Jesus Christ. But there are signs that unity is on the march—slowly, perhaps, incompletely and hesitantly, but on the march.

# Jewish Nationalism

By Millar Burrows

ONE of the consequences of the current recrudescence of Jewish nationalism is the aid and comfort it gives to the anti-Semitists. This is a serious peril for Christianity and democracy in America. It must be squarely met. The way to meet it, however, is not to hush up every protest against Jewish nationalism or to change the subject hurriedly at the first hint of criticism of anything Jewish. That is neither Christian nor democratic. It is not our practice with regard to differences between political parties. To keep discussion of all matters connected with religious faith free of the acrimonious violence and personal vilification all too characteristic of our political debates is as desirable as it is difficult, but to avoid all argument by ignoring real differences only blocks the road to fruitful cooperation and real understanding. The cult of sweetness without light has been the bane of most well meaning efforts at interfaith harmony.

It has become customary to speak of "the three great faiths of the Judeo-Christian tradition." Insofar as this way of speaking emphasizes the historic connection between Judaism and Christianity it is sound. By putting Judaism on the same level with Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as one of three faiths, it expresses courteous and fair recognition of the equal rights of Jews, Catholics and Protestants to tolerance and respect. But does it honestly express our convictions as to the real relationship of these faiths? Are Protestantism and Catholicism two different religions, as Christianity and Judaism are different religions?

If that is what we mean by speaking of three faiths, we should add others. The great Greek Orthodox tradition is as much a part of the Judeo-Christian tradition as either Roman Catholicism or Protestantism, not to mention other forms of Christianity, both Eastern and Western. Probably it would never occur to any of our interfaith organizations to include Islam in the list; yet Islam is certainly a branch of the Hebrew-Christian family tree, and it gives a higher place to Jesus than does any form of Judaism. Both Islam and Oriental Christianity, obviously, are left out of account because they are not prominently represented in the United States, though both have a considerable number of adherents in this country. Most Protestants, doubtless, would not feel spiritually very close to either of them; yet we should feel closer to Oriental Christianity than to Islam, and probably at least as close to the former as to Roman Catholicism. As for Judaism, do we actually consider it, in relation to our own faith, on the same level with other forms of Christianity?

Any Christian's answer to that question should take into account the different varieties of Judaism as well as of Christianity. It is not the name "Christian" that counts. Many Christians feel that our efforts to achieve interfaith harmony have gone too far, in that they have taken the place of the effort we should be making to convert the Jews. Some of us, not too orthodox in our own theology, are unable to sympathize fully with this feeling. We cannot be blind to the fact that the Christianity to which it is usually desired to convert the Jews is itself a different religion from ours. If *it* be Christianity, we are not Christians ourselves, and on that point its adherents quite agree with us. I have often said that I feel a closer spiritual and even theological kinship with some liberal Jews I know than I do with some of the Christians I have met. Every Christian must wish that the Jews would accept his Lord as their own; yet there are those among us who cannot help suspecting that the attitude of some of our Jewish friends to Jesus is nearer to the heart of Jesus himself than that of many of his own most ardent followers.

### *Frank Discussion Is Fundamental*

At any rate, a realistic approach to genuine fellowship among adherents of different faiths demands free and frank discussion of the points on which they differ as well as a thoroughgoing effort to discover and recognize what they have in common. This is as true within Christianity, of course, as it is between Christianity and any other religion. It is all very well to seek a maximum of agreement in doctrine, faith and order, and Christian life; but such an agreement can be reached, if ever, only through recognizing and facing our differences. Otherwise the very issues to be decided remain obscure. Meanwhile complete freedom and mutual respect must be first achieved and then preserved.

The way to any interfaith harmony that is worth working for is to get together on practical jobs which we agree should be done in the community, the nation and the world. Through working together we can come to understand each other better. But we must respect each other enough to be frank in saying where our agreement ends. This is the only way to understanding and satisfactory relations between Christians and Jews. It is the only way to eradicate the poison of anti-Semitism. In frank conversation Christians can learn from their Jewish neighbors what specific forms of discrimination they encounter and how they feel about them. By personal acquaintance and friendship with individual Jews Christians can learn how groundless and vicious are the old lies on which anti-Semitism feeds.

### *Overcoming Anti-Semitism*

When a certain palpable barrier of sensitiveness has been overcome, Jews may learn that they are themselves in part responsible for anti-Semitism, and that there are better ways of fighting it than extravagant and excessive publicity with incessant stress on the fact that they are Jews and on their sense of being different from other people. Christians can learn, if they will, what there is in Judaism that the Jews feel they can never give up and what there is in Christianity that the Jews feel they can never accept. Jews can learn, if they will, what Christians feel they have in Christ, without which Judaism remains at best incomplete and unfulfilled.

The central issue between Judaism and Christianity lies in their answers to the question, "What do you think of Christ?" Should we try to convert Jews to our faith in Jesus as the incarnate Word of God? Most certainly we should, just as we should try to convert to our way of thinking those who differ from us in politics or economics or social questions or anything else which is important for human life, here or hereafter. How far this should involve persuading them to accept our christological definitions and formulas is questionable, at least until we have reached greater agreement than we have among ourselves. There are some points, however, on which all Christians are united.

While orthodox Judaism believes that the Messiah is still to come, and liberal Judaism holds that there is no Messiah except the Jewish people itself, all Christians believe that the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament have their true and only fulfillment in Jesus. All Christians agree, moreover, that to confess Jesus Christ as King means something very different from the kind of king and the type of kingdom which his contemporaries expected and desired. That the messianic hope of Judaism had at that time many forms and varieties is well known. The particular type of messianic expectation which Jesus distinctly repudiated was the nationalistic hope of a descendant of David who would throw off the yoke of Rome and restore the long-lost glories of David's kingdom. It was at the point of the connection between religion and nationalism that Jesus and the Jewish people as a whole came to the parting of the ways.

### *True Judaism Is Not Nationalistic*

In choosing the way of nationalism rather than the spiritual Kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed, the Jewish people as a whole, we believe, was untrue to its own heritage. A French historian of the religion of the Old Testament named his book, "From the Ethnic Group to the Religious Community."* That title expresses the essence of the process which culminated in Christ and in his church as the Israel of God, emancipated from all ethnic and national bonds. As Christians we believe that Christianity—not necessarily any particular present or historical form of organized Christianity, but the truth as it is in Christ himself—is the true Judaism. That was what Jesus and his first disciples claimed. It is Judaism denationalized, universalized, spiritualized.

The present resurgence of Jewish nationalism is a repetition of the same fatal error that caused Israel's rejection of Jesus. It is the focal point at which Christian opinion, in all brotherly love, should make clear and emphatic its disagreement with the dominant trend in contemporary Judaism. Not all Jews, to be sure, particularly in America, have been swept up in the flood of nationalism. As Protestants and Catholics differ profoundly on the relation of church and state, and we Protestants ourselves are not too clear on the subject, so among our Jewish fellow citizens there are differing convictions. For the members of the American Council for Judaism, who are opposed to all

*A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris, 1937).

forms of segregation and bravely insist that they are "Americans of Jewish faith," Christians should have the utmost sympathy. For the position of the Freeland League, which seeks the salvation of the Jewish people in mass colonization, but not as a Jewish state and not in Palestine, we can at least have respect. For the enthusiastic, dominating, just now apparently all-conquering devotees of political Zionism we should feel the sorrow that Jesus felt when he wept over Jerusalem.

Recognizing gratefully all that Jews and Christians have in common, appreciating (though not as fully as we should if we knew it better) the wealth of the spiritual and cultural achievements and contributions of ancient, medieval and modern Judaism, eager to cooperate fully with our Jewish neighbors for the achievement of the ends which both we and they desire, we must not relinquish or forget our conviction that the Messiah is Jesus, and that the fulfillment of the promises of the Old Testament is to be found in the universal Kingdom of God which he came to establish. The Christian's final attitude must be that of Paul: "Brethren, my heart's desire for Israel is that they may be saved."

# *BOOKS*

## A Battle Half Won

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. *By Cecil Northcott. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

EVEN a small book by such an experienced student of so vital a theme cannot be a book of small importance. This one will be of special value to those who have not had the time or the fortitude to tackle Searle Bates' rather monumental *Religious Liberty, An Inquiry* (1945), or who, having studied that, wish to review the subject from a somewhat different point of view and with the inclusion of some more recent data. One could wish that it might have wide circulation not only where English is read but also in French and German and, especially, in Spanish and Italian translations. Despite some defects, which will be mentioned presently, it is a good book.

The author's point of view is defined by two facts: first, that he is a missionary executive; second, that he is British. As home secretary and literary superintendent of the London Missionary Society, a wide traveler and an active participant in ecumenical enterprises, he has given to his treatment of the theme a worldwide scope which is one of its shining merits. This virtue is especially seen in the central part of the book (about half of the whole) which is devoted to a survey of the status and problems of religious liberty in various countries throughout the world. Within this section there is as clear and correct a statement of the Roman Catholic position on religious liberty, in both theory and practice, as can be found anywhere in equal space. Here also are enlightening discussions of such delicate topics as the rights of religious minorities, the status of Christians in non-Christian countries, the right of the church to teach and to propagate its faith as well as to offer facilities for its members to worship according to the dictates of conscience.

American readers must be prepared to find this a very British book. This is evident in its treatment of the history of progress toward religious liberty, in its tender regard for "establishment," in its ascription of all credit to Great Britain for whatever advances have been made and for the best results yet attained in religious liberty, and in its complete disregard of any American contribution to that end. Mr. Northcott cannot be entirely ignorant of the history of religious liberty in America for, besides being a very intelligent person and British correspondent for The Christian Century, he traveled here extensively in 1944 "to promote understanding between British and American churches." So we must take it as his considered judgment that the American contribution has been negligible. In one of his two brief references to North America he notes that "separation [of church and state] has hardly been favorable to the liberty of the individual conscience, . . . and in the early days of the American colonies the system was intolerant of any form of error." (But, brother, that was when the British state church idea, which the colonists brought with them, had not yet been displaced by the American system.) It may help to promote our understanding of the British churches to learn that a distinguished nonconformist regards our system of free and legally equal churches as, at best, of no special consequence in the development of religious liberty. It is England that is "an example to the rest of the world," with one established church and a number of dissenting bodies whose members, now at long last, enjoy full political rights.

The first three chapters deal with the definition and the history of religious liberty; the last, "Plan for Unity," outlines constructive measures for advance, especially through the adoption of an adequate international bill of rights.

The author rightly and repeatedly distinguishes between toleration (something granted by favor) and religious liberty (something claimed as a right). He does not consistently maintain this distinction. The very last, and presumably climactic, sentence of the book is this: "Only on grounds of toleration for all religious opinions, and for none, can true religion itself flourish." This may be only a verbal slip. The trend of his argument is for *liberty*.

It is reassuring to find frequent and full recognition that religious liberty is so "clearly linked" with general civil liberties that it cannot exist securely where they are not assured. But the author is not content to rest his case there. Liberty in religion must be regarded as somehow more "basic" (though admittedly later to be attained) than other liberties. Moreover, an effort is made to claim certain rights for the church as "not a voluntary association but a divine creation," in addition to those which flow from the civil rights of its members. This definition of the church may be (and I think is) theologically sound, but it is juridically superfluous and dangerous. It is one thing for Christians to hold that the church is a "divine creation," but another thing to ask the state to acknowledge it as such and to concede that it has special rights which "voluntary associations" of citizens do not enjoy. If the state is to do that, then it must first decide *which* church is the divine creation, or which ecclesiastical structure under human administration (as every church necessarily is) truly represents that divine creation. Since the actual church on earth is divided into many separated parts, the state has to do not with *the* church which is a divine creation, but with sects, which are not. The Roman Catholic position of course is clear: it *is* the church, a divine creation, and entitled to special rights and special considera-

tion from the state on that account. But to follow its lead in claiming special legal rights for the church as a divine creation would be to head back toward the Middle Ages and the old regime of ecclesiastical extraterritoriality. That isn't religious liberty. I think Mr. Northcott would see this if he were not so British and so much under the spell of an establishment which, after a long and losing battle to maintain its monopoly, has now become quite innocuous.

Religious liberty is secure when civil liberties are adequate and secure; otherwise, not.

W. E. GARRISON.

# Books in Brief

THE WIND LEAVES NO SHADOW. *By Ruth Laughlin. Whittlesey House, $3.50.* The solid historical core of this restful novel is events and conditions in New Mexico during the years from 1821, when Mexico had just won independence from Spain, until 1846, when New Mexico became part of the United States. The principal scene is old Santa Fe, with action reaching out to Taos, the gold diggings in the Ortiz mountains and other adjacent places. The story is built around the personality of an authentic historical character who was mentioned in many of the older books about New Mexico but about whom not very much was known until the author did her patient and solid research. This character's full name was Doña Maria Gertrudis Barceló, but she was no lady. Tules was the name by which she came to be universally known. She was a red-haired fireball who, during the last few years of the period, operated the most famous gambling house in Santa Fe and was the mistress of the last Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo. These occupations represented a very great improvement of her professional standing. Her childhood was that of a bound peon on a ranch. One will not find anywhere a more vivid or more authentic picture of peon life at that time. Tules was a woman of bad morals but strong and, in most respects, admirable character. She broke with the governor for no personal reason but because she was disgusted with the corruption and cruelty of his administration, and she aided the American invasion because she saw that freedom for the common people could come in no other way. Ruth Laughlin (Mrs. Alexander) was born and raised in Santa Fe. She knows the terrain like the back of her hand. Her earlier work, *Caballeros,* is one of the best historical, descriptive and interpretative books on New Mexico. The present work is a good novel by any test.

THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865. *By Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick. Fourth edition. Appleton-Century-Crofts, $5.00.* The title phrase, "since 1865," implies "down to now." To keep this comprehensive and masterly survey of post-Civil War American history true to that implication, it has been necessary to revise it repeatedly, and now for the third time, since its first publication in 1932. To some slight extent, the latest revision incorporates new material on earlier events; for the most part the additions deal with the vastly important developments of the years since 1932. The book is, of course, primarily a college textbook. It has the cool detachment and the ample bibliographical material that a good textbook should have. Judgments and evaluations are not avoided, but they are relatively few and always restrained. Partisan coloration is excluded. Economic history has a much more prominent place than in most general histories, and this is as it should be. A main theme, perhaps the main theme, is the expansion of America —first at home, by the westward movement of population; then internally, by the expansion of industry; then externally, by foreign trade and investment, and by foreign wars and the inevitable involvement in world problems. In a foreword, Prof. Dixon Ryan Fox gives his very impressive sanction to the statement that "few if any college textbooks rival this in the space devoted to such matters as philanthropy, religion, learning, the arts, taste, the influences shaping opinion, and the like, in our American life." To this reviewer, this seems doubtful. He can discover only a little less than 3 pages (out of 689 of text) that bear in any way upon religion, and these give virtually no indication that it had any influence, except for one very general statement, about the period around 1870, that "church attendance was a common middle-class practice, and most Americans looked to the clergy for guidance in intellectual, scientific and social problems." The truly superb bibliography of 32 crowded pages mentions three books on religion in the earlier half of the period, and none on the latter half. As to the "influences shaping opinion," no suggestion is made as to what forces brought the rise and fall of prohibition; neither the Anti-Saloon League nor any church influence is mentioned. Nor is it observed that religion had anything to do with the "peace movement," to which a chapter is devoted. The book has such abundant merits of almost every other kind that it seems injudicious to praise it for one that it does not have.

A CATHOLIC DICTIONARY. *Edited by Donald Attwater. Macmillan, $5.00.* A second and revised edition of what was originally called *The Catholic Encyclopedic Dictionary.* Its 552 double-column pages contain a vast amount of data concerning the organization, practices and lore of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as its principal doctrines. Doctrinal topics are, of necessity, treated very briefly. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* is more satisfactory as a book of reference for those who have access to its many volumes. But the dictionary has its value. It is published with proper ecclesiastical sanction.

CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN. *By John Dollard. Harper, $5.00.* A new edition, or reprinting, of an excellent study which was originally published in 1937.

THE CHRIST OF THE POETS. *By Edwin Mims. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $2.50.* Not an anthology, but a series of essays on English poets who have strongly felt the appeal of Christ and have written effectively of him. These include Spenser, John Donne and the "metaphysical poets," Milton, Blake, Arnold, Tennyson, Browning, Francis Thompson and Gerard Manley Hopkins, together with a group of 19th century Americans and several contemporary poets. The author—for many years head of the humanities division at Vanderbilt University, now emeritus—is a critic of independent judgment and has a sensitive feeling for religious values. He knows and respects the traditional rating of the poets, but he feels no compulsion to follow either the traditional or the currently popular line. The account of Milton is particularly discriminating. He was "dissenter and heretic," but far more devout than is admitted by those who say he was a better classicist than Christian, yet not the pattern of orthodoxy he has often been painted. T. S. Eliot gets very faint praise. A final chapter, "The Future of Faith," is more optimistic about the final triumph of faith than about the ability and disposition of the modern poets to grasp and express it: "The poets [in contrast with the more enlightened scientists of today] have failed to understand some of the main currents of modern thought. They have not been wise leaders." The bards as "seers" do not always see far enough. W.E.G.

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Clerical Self-Revelation

SIR: Many years ago John R. Mott declared, "We have lost the way!" No one has disagreed, nor has anyone pointed out how, when or where we Christians did so.

A hint may be gathered from Karl Barth's "How My Mind Has Changed" (March 9). "As never before," he writes, "it brought me face to face with the common men of my country. . . . There are few memories that I would be so loath to part with." He had been isolated from common men, and now a brief contact had become only a memory!

Did we lose the way when we lost contact with common men? Jesus and Paul kept contact with the dregs of society. In failing to do so, have our Dr. Barths and all of us lost the way?

Blacksburg, Va. J. M. DUDLEY.

## Double Promise or Double Cross?

SIR: As a Congregational minister I continue to be unattracted by the proposed United Church of Christ. Its architects, whatever their good intentions, have fashioned a Church of the Double Promise. One promise is summed up in the word "synod"; its opposite in "local autonomy." The first means that whatever freedoms the local church has are *assigned* freedoms; the second, that whatever duties any organization beyond the local church has are *delegated* duties. One concept is authoritarian; the other democratic.

The "Basis of Union" is a blueprint for a church with one main entrance on Independence Road and another on Synod Street.

A Church of the Double Promise is a house built upon sand. Some of the architects tell us we must hasten to build this house. We say to them: The house of united Protestantism—which we desire as earnestly as you do—must, if it is to endure, be built upon the rock of mutual assent to clearly phrased principles.

ALAN JENKINS.

Central Congregational Church,
Galesburg, Ill.

## Missing the Point

SIR: The response to the imprisonment of the "fine young men" who are refusing to register for the draft seems, from the point of view of the young men, to be uniformly missing the point. All the publicity seems to stress the "needlessness" of prison sentences for these lawbreakers and to urge probation or easy parole terms for them. Having sat out part of the last war behind American prison bars, I know how thoroughly frustrating this can be to one who reluctantly, but for reasons of conscience, violates a law.

The non-registrant, because he can do no other, refuses to stand in line and cast his vote (through registering) for a major power-politics move: the draft. If he counts on any impact of this act being felt publicly, it is his hope that it will be to focus attention on the evil of the draft.

But what is it we constantly read? "Free these men; put pressure on the judges to give probation." The implication is that the terrible thing in the situation is the punishment. No, the terrible thing is the draft and the cynically accepted "cold war." You do violence to the cause of the young men by wasting strength on an appeal for their personal comfort. What they want is peace on earth. To ask for kind treatment of non-registrants is to play into the hands of a militaristic government which conceivably might grant the kind treatment but which is hell-bent to deny the fundamental values for which the men are witnessing. STANLEY R. GOULD.

Three Rivers, Calif.

## Results of One Union

SIR: Some opponents of church union declare that the more denominations you have, the more people you can reach with the gospel. Let them ponder a few facts presented by the commission on evangelism of a denomination (the Evangelical United Brethren Church) which is the product of a recent merger:

"We received 6,931 more members in 1948 than both churches together received on an average during the four years preceding church union.

"The number of conversions in 1948 is 8,586 more than the average of the four-year period before union," for both former denominations together.

"There were 3,659 more persons added to the church on confession of faith in 1948 than the average during the four-year period preceding church union in both former denominations together."

Perhaps these facts do not offer conclusive proof that church union guarantees more effective evangelism. They at least disprove the contention that a multiplicity of denominations necessarily means better coverage of our evangelistic opportunities. GEORGE H. THEUER.

Liling, Hunan, China.

## Walls or Waves?

SIR: In your editorial of March 2 you find it difficult to understand how my article "Protestantism and Public Education" in *Social Action* can call Jefferson's "wall of separation between church and state" a "misleading figure of speech," in view of the Congregational Christian General Council, Council for Social Action and United States Supreme Court statements. I think there is ample justification and I trust you will let your readers decide who correctly interprets our General Council.

In the first place the General Council section report, to which I acknowledged indebtedness in my article, takes issue with the position of "absolute separation." "Those who advocate the absolute separation of church and state usually conceive of a definite, straight and immovable wall separating these two areas of society—a wall which must not be breached at any point. We contend that policy cannot be based on a figure of speech. The institutional church and the organized state have both unique and common functions to discharge. They can best do them by remaining structurally independent of each other while cooperating closely on the common interests of maintaining religious liberty and spiritual influence in the political and social order."

Again, the General Council section report objects to a boundary and favors a "dynamic relationship" between church and state. "The principle of separation not only prevents the governmental establishment of a church, but it also prevents interference by government in religious affairs. Between these two prohibited extremes lies a vast realm of functional interaction between church and state which cannot—and should not—be proscribed in its entirety by legal or judicial acts. . . . Church and state will continue to stand in dynamic relationship to each other, and the boundaries of their respective spheres cannot be determined once and for all in keeping with some absolute principle or abstract dogma." Obviously, this position of the General Council differs sharply from that of The Christian Century, which seems to be trying to set a boundary "once and for all in keeping with some absolute principle or abstract dogma."

Is this position of the General Council section report inconsistent with the resolution supporting federal aid to education, "understanding that such funds are not to be allocated to non-public schools"? No, indeed. It conforms to the United States Supreme Court statement in the Everson case that no public funds may be used to support sectarian schools. With this position the General Council, the Council for Social Action and my article agree. Where The Christian Century does not agree is in distinguishing clearly, as did the court, between public funds for school *systems* (which is unconstitutional) and public funds for school *children* (which is not unconstitutional). The former aid to schools, such as teachers' salaries, building maintenance and program, is forbidden. The latter aid for "welfare" services to children, such as bus transportation, is permissible.

In The Christian Century editorial of Dec. 10, 1947, you state your belief that such bus transportation *does* involve "the interlocking of the official functions of the state with the official or institutional functions of any church." It is perfectly proper for The Christian Century to disagree with the Supreme Court decision, but I call your readers' attention to the fact that

it is The Christian Century that disagrees with it and not the General Council or my article. It is because you consider "welfare" aid to children as if it were an allocation to non-public *schools* that you oppose present federal aid legislation. The General Council, the Council for Social Action and I make the distinction between aid to schools and aid to children which the Supreme Court made, and so we support federal aid legislation. RAY GIBBONS.

Council for Social Action,
New York, N. Y.

[The General Council views church and state as "structurally independent" of each other. That sets up an institutional boundary line separating the two. Mr. Gibbons favors a "wavy line." The Supreme Court said in the Everson case: "The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here." Mr. Gibbons' wavy logic interprets this to mean that the court gave blanket approval for all expenditures so long as it can be maintained that they are for "welfare" services to children. The court's intention in this 5-to-4 decision was certainly not that broad. It did one thing and only one. It permitted the state of New Jersey to reimburse from public funds a father who had paid bus fares for transporting his children to a parochial school. Other language of the court in this and the McCollum cases clearly indicates that it did not approve granting assistance under the name of welfare which it withheld when the assistance was honestly designated as help to a sectarian school.—THE EDITORS.]

## Foreign Missions Conference

SIR: I am less surprised than disappointed in your editorial comment on the recent decision of the Foreign Missions Conference not to become a part of the proposed National Council of Churches. In view of your editorial position, it would hardly have been consistent for you to take any other attitude after the event. Nevertheless the statement in your editorial hardly does justice to the situation.

When the foreign mission boards of denominations like the Northern Baptist and National Baptist conventions and the Evangelical United Brethren, African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Presbyterian, U.S., United Presbyterian and Reformed churches in America, which are members of the Federal Council, join great communions like the Lutherans, Mennonites and Southern Baptists in the final decisive vote, it is hardly correct to describe them all as "representatives of churches which have never had more than one foot in the cooperative movement among Protestant churches."

Immediately following the decisive vote on the merger as such, the conference adopted unanimously a resolution instructing the Committee of Reference and Counsel to take steps to continue the large degree of cooperation it has developed with the other interdenominational agencies in public relations, religious liberty and international relations, and with the Protestant Film Commission, the Protestant Radio Commission and Church World Service, and to explore other forms of cooperation on a mutually acceptable basis with the National Council when formed.

Cooperation overseas between denominations has already far outstripped that in similar situations at home, even at the point of completely integrated joint administration of institutions and more inclusive enterprises such as the interboard committee for cooperation with the United Church in Japan. The leaders of the ecumenical movement gladly admit the encouraging stimulus they received from foreign missions, which will go on with increasing strength even though and perhaps even because the conference is not in the National Council.

It is a common fallacy to equate the National Council with the highest administrative body of a communion and so to attribute to it potentially the same control over the operations of the boards constituting its divisions as such a body has over the boards and agencies within a communion. Such an integration of over-all strategy and operations as you hope for here at home will be possible only as denominations are ready to entrust administration of "their" work to an interdenominational body. My personal experience leads me to believe that that step will not precede organic union.

Those who desire a full statement of the position of the Foreign Missions Conference on this matter may obtain it by writing me.

156 Fifth Ave., WYNN C. FAIRFIELD,
New York 10, N. Y. Secretary.

## Wrong Diagnosis

SIR: At the risk of being brushed aside as a denominational leader whose sole concern is to bolster "denominational strength" by "exploiting" the young people and diverting funds that could be put to better use elsewhere "down denominational drainpipes," I am moved to comment on Professor Fallaw's article, "Why Youth Programs Fail" (March 9). His diagnosis seems to be that the cause of the disease is denominationalism. His prescription is to "let the denominations with their separated churches die that Christendom can have its resurrection and Christ's purposes for his church be fulfilled." If by that sacrifice Christendom could be given new life and Christ's purposes fulfilled, very few people would be unwilling to see it come to pass. Certainly I would not.

It has been my observation that where a church of any denomination has offered a sound and constructive spiritual ministry to its young people, the young people respond enthusiastically and gratefully to that leadership. Most of the denominational programs and materials offer a constructive approach to the needs of youth, and are not, as charged, concerned primarily with padding denominational statistics. Any such charge betrays an ignorance of the actual content and purposes of the youth program of the denominational churches.

The prescription, "Let the denominations die," is as unrealistic as the diagnosis is superficial. It probably fits neatly into a pattern drawn up in the isolation of a professorial study. But when tested clinically, it does not work out in practice. The most insipid, diluted and unpalatable spiritual diet I have ever seen offered to young people has been the result of an interdenominational approach to this problem. Doubtless it need not be so, but up to the present time the interdenominational approach has nothing to offer superior to the programs already in existence. The young people themselves confirmed this judgment by staying away from these programs in greater numbers than they did from their own church groups.

Hutchinson, Kan. J. S. PLOUGHE.

## Vital Ingredients Missing

SIR: Wesner Fallaw gave us a fine analysis of our youth program problems. In giving us his solution he unfortunately creates another problem. The programs he suggests add spark and zest to youth efforts, inspire many greatly, and certainly satisfy the gregarious nature of boys and girls. However, there seems to be no particular emphasis on any particular thing. There seems to be no place for doctrinal study and little if any place for interpretative Bible study. Religion without doctrine or interpretative Bible study is anemic and in the long run futile.

Eufaula, Ala. JOHN A. KIRSTEIN.

## Only Theory

SIR: Dr. Fallaw writes a fine article on failing youth programs (March 9), but it doesn't contain much horse sense. He is talking about getting a blossom by clipping out the roots. One central organic youth program is as impractical as one great organic church. In theory it sounds fine, but it forgets that we are "of dust" and as different in tastes as the strata of land.

Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Chicago. JAY M. LOGAN, Field Director.

## 'Gullible' Available

SIR: The excellent article on the Swiss system of universal military training, "Gullible's Travels," which appeared in the Feb. 9 Christian Century, will shortly be available in illustrated pamphlet form. The National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., will have these available at the rate of single copies for 5 cents, and five or more copies at 2 cents each.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.
Washington, D. C.

# NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

## Carolina Group Denounces Klan

**'Federated Forces' Extend Field from Liquor to Social Issues—Non-Red Affidavits Are Proposed**

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., March 16.—Under the aggressive leadership of Maxie Collins, a minister, South Carolina Federated Forces, formed primarily to fight the liquor traffic, has extended its concern to other social issues. At the organization's recent annual meeting, Mr. Collins was overwhelmingly re-elected executive secretary in spite of the opposition of a few "states' righters" who opposed his support of the national Democratic party in the November election. The administrative committee on Feb. 7 issued a statement condemning the Ku Klux Klan and calling for the outlawing of "hooded and intimidation organizations." The latest issue of Federated Forces' *Bulletin* calls attention to the fact that, according to the U. S. office of education, it would cost more than $33 million to provide "separate but equal" school plants for Negroes in the state. Cost of equalization in North Carolina is estimated at nearly $37 million. On Feb. 9 Dr. Samuel Green and a group of Klansmen from Georgia visited South Carolina to stimulate Klan activities there. Last November the Baptist state convention denounced the Klan and counseled its members to have nothing to do with the hooded order.

**Promote Restrictions Against Communist Membership**

A bill making it a felony to belong to any organization "directly or indirectly" seeking overthrow of state or local governments by force, and requiring from government employees affidavits of non-membership in such organizations, has been introduced in the North Carolina legislature. The preamble to the proposed law describes the Communist party as such an organization. A resolution before the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina which would require non-Communist affidavits from faculty members and students was referred to the executive committee for study. Frank Graham, president of the university, has recently been under attack by Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio commentator, as connected with or indulgent toward subversive groups. In answer, tribute was paid to Dr. Graham in the state legislature and by a member of North Carolina's delegation in Congress.

**Doctors Propose Insurance Plan**

To help forestall federal enactment of compulsory health insurance, the North Carolina medical society has announced a schedule of reduced fees for medical services to be handled through the voluntary Blue Cross insurance plan. The new schedule is expected to go into effect immediately following its approval by the society's executive board this month. Under the medical care program authorized by the 1947 legislature, 11 new county or municipal hospitals have been built or are under construction. Ten additional hospitals or community clinics are thus far authorized for 1949. As part of a program to improve town and county jails, a school in jail management was held recently in Chapel Hill under direction of the institute of government. Another such school is planned for Asheville during the year.

**Negro Layman Heads Episcopal School**

Harold L. Trigg was inaugurated Jan. 14 as president of St. Augustine's College, Episcopal school for Negroes, in Raleigh. Dr. Trigg, first Negro and first layman to head the school, formerly served in the state's educational system as both teacher and administrator and comes to this position from the Southern Regional Council. In his inaugural address he declared that America stands on the threshold of a new era in which "race will be subordinated to the total utilization of our wealth of natural, human and social resources for improving the living of all our people."

**N.A.A.C.P. Urges Eight-Point Program in North Carolina**

A delegation from the North Carolina branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People recently called on Gov. W. Kerr Scott to ask his support for an eight-point state program which would include a fair employment practices bill, admission of Negroes to state-supported graduate and professional schools, elimination of inequalities in secondary schools, Negro representation on state policy-making bodies and abolition of segregation on common carriers. Governor Scott reiterated to the delegation his intention to appoint Negroes to certain state boards and commissions.

**Editor of Baptist Journal Dies**

John Arch McMillan, beloved editor of *Charity and Children*, died early in January. Under his editorship the journal, primarily a promotional organ for the Baptist orphanage at Thomasville, N. C., had become a state institution. Marked by homely wisdom, a broad range of interest and sincere appreciation of the common things of life, it was widely read and quoted beyond the denominational group for which it was originally designed.

**And So Forth**

F. J. Carnage, attorney, has been elected to the Raleigh school board by the city council. He is the second Negro to serve in such capacity in North Carolina.

Duke Divinity School observed a "missions emphasis week" Feb. 8-11. This is believed to be the first such observance in a theological seminary. Among the speakers were Kenneth S. Latourette, Karl Quimby and Elmer T. Clark.

The second annual Christian workers' conference of Congregational Christian Churches of North Carolina was held at Elon College Jan. 23-27.

U. S. Circuit Judge John J. Parker of Charlotte, N. C., was awarded the Carolina Israelite gold medal during the observance of Brotherhood Week for his "contribution to interfaith amity and human rights."

HENRY G. RUARK.

## Adopt Religious Freedom Stand

**Federal Council Insists Totalitarian Threats Must be Resisted in All States, Including Fascist**

NEW YORK, March 15.—Here is the text of the "Declaration on Religious Freedom" adopted today by the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches:

"The evidence coming from several areas in Europe makes it clear that there is a systematic attack upon churches by Communist-controlled governments. Although there may be no overt persecution of Christians for the profession of their private faith or for religious worship, it is plain that totalitarian states under Communist domination are determined to prevent the churches from having any influence in public life. In the light of recent developments in Hungary, Bulgaria and elsewhere, the design of these states to bring the churches into subservience is no longer open to doubt.

"The methods adopted by one totalitarian regime or another in achieving this design include preventing the churches from maintaining schools for the religious education of their children, banning Christian youth movements or sharply circumscribing their activities, eliminating or controlling Christian publications, forcing strong church leaders out of their positions and supplanting them with submissive personalities, and isolating the churches from fellowship and contact with churches in other lands.

*'By Devious Means'*

"While these objectives may not be openly avowed, they are pursued by such devious means as public trials on such technical charges as manipulating the currency, black marketing and espionage.

"The attack of the Communist-controlled governments is directed against all forms of organized religion which refuse to be tools of a secular policy. All the churches are involved in the defense of a rightful religious freedom as over against the pretensions of the totalitarian state. They must stand together in resisting, in such ways as are appropriate to the church, every attempt of a godless political regime to curtail or to destroy the influence of religion.

"In bearing this united testimony and standing together in a common protest we must guard against a blind emotion or a heedless hysteria which might seek to defend the church through resort to war. It would be wholly illusory to suppose that the present tensions could be relaxed by such a method.

*Another Totalitarianism*

"Our witness in behalf of basic religious freedom is not limited to the states which are under Communist domination. There is also a totalitarianism of a fascist type which is hostile to religious freedom. States which profess to be defending the rights of religion may in practice be denying those rights by their treatment of minority groups.

"We cannot be silent about the fact that

in Spain, the Argentine and elsewhere there are today grievous abridgments of religious freedom. In championing religious freedom we mean freedom from coercion by any earthly power, whether political or ecclesiastical, that assumes the prerogative of God and attempts to control the conscience of the individual.

"We do not know the facts of the situation in the Communist-controlled countries well enough to justify us in fully evaluating the acts of our Christian brethren who are passing through a terrible ordeal. We can, however, have a confident trust that in every country there will be a faithful remnant who under all circumstances of conflict will choose to obey God rather than men and who will not compromise their Christian convictions.

*Historic Renewal*

"It is out of such fidelity to the Word of God in the face of hardship and danger that the Christian church in other ages has survived attack and had its spiritual vitality renewed. The greatest service which we can render to hard-pressed Christians in many countries is to stand beside them in a fellowship of the spirit and to pray that they may be sustained by the divine assurance that the faithfulness will not be in vain.

"The threat which the churches confront in other lands is a ringing call to Christians in lands that are still free to redouble their efforts in behalf of social justice and human rights. It is in the soil of misery and injustice that communism thrives. For Christians to struggle constantly to establish both freedom and justice for all people, remembering especially the poorest and the most oppressed, is to strengthen the church for its most effective witness in the world today."

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### Oregon Churchwomen Urge that U.S. Refrain from Alliance

At its annual meeting in Portland Feb. 21-22, the Oregon council of churchwomen adopted a resolution petitioning President Truman, the Oregon delegation in Congress and Secretary of State Acheson to follow in the nation's foreign policy the basic teachings of the Christian church on faith and reconciliation rather than to rely on such a radical policy of military alliance as the North Atlantic pact envisions. The council set forth in detail what it fears would be the dangerous results of U.S. participation in the alliance.

### Church of Norway Permits Women to Baptize

Women may now baptize and administer the communion in the Church of Norway if they have been properly authorized by their bishop and have been installed by the church for work at such institutions as prisons and hospitals. Bishop Eivind Berggrav, Norwegian primate, terms the new practice a "happy renewal of the ancient church's diaconate."

### Lutherans Plan New Student Centers

The National Lutheran Council's student service division has allocated $787,500 during 1949-50 for student centers at 37 schools in 22 states. Building programs to cost $1,882,218 are planned.

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# Protest Canadian Envoy to Vatican

**United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service Explains Reasons for Opposing Appointment**

REGINA, SASK., March 11.—Strong objection to the possible appointment of a Canadian envoy to the Vatican was registered at the annual meeting of the United Church of Canada's Board of Evangelism and Social Service, held in Toronto last week. Stating that the board regrets that the proposal compels it to speak on an issue which "may occasion very serious dissension and disunity in Canada," the resolution expressed opposition on the grounds that the appointment would involve recognition of the Roman Church as a state and give that church a position of special privilege. Furthermore, the resolution pointed out, if the action should result in reciprocal appointment and reception of a diplomatic representative of the Vatican to the Canadian government, this would be a "direct violation of the Canadian statute of 1851, the intention of which was to make all churches equal before the law."

### *Grounds for Opposition*

The resolution dealt in detail with the arguments so far advanced for support of the proposed appointment. It declared that the board is forced to question the assertion, now current, that the Roman Church is the chief protagonist of liberty and democracy and the most effective bulwark against communism. "By declared belief and by frequent practice the Roman Church has opposed full religious freedom and has not shown itself a defender of Christian liberty," the resolution declared. "We point out that freedom and democracy have flourished under Protestantism, and that communism and fascism have made their most serious inroads in countries dominated by authoritarian churches. We are grieved at the persecution of religious groups anywhere in the world, whether by Communists or any others, and believe that all such policies increase and do not decrease the danger of religious warfare."

To the argument that the appointment would enable the Canadian government to procure needed information on international affairs, the resolution answers that only such information as the Roman Church wishes to supply will be available, and that any information it does wish to give out could be got through existing channels. "Furthermore, it is our view that such a relationship with the Vatican would be an acceptance of the interference of the Roman Church in the political affairs of the nations, and of this we cannot approve," the resolution declares.

### *Reaffirms Council Decision*

The board denies that the fact that Great Britain and the United States maintain representation at the Vatican is ground for a Canadian appointment. It notes that President Truman's representative is not an ambassador, that his appointment has never been officially sanctioned by Congress, that it has been opposed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and that the President himself has promised that it will not be permanent.

In adopting the resolution, the board was reaffirming the decision of the United Church's General Council of 1946 which expressed opposition to "the appointment by Canada of a representative to the Vatican." It reiterated that opposition in specific terms, and went further to state that it believes "this opposition . . . to apply to the extension of the work of any existing embassy to include relations with the Vatican or to the appointment of a diplomatic representative of any kind."

Strong support in favor of the proposed appointment of a Canadian envoy to the Vatican has been indicated in many leading newspapers of the dominion. In many quarters fear is being expressed that, in view of the likelihood of a federal election in the near future, the entire issue may become a political football and be decided on partisan rather than objective grounds.

### *View Economic Trends*

The board noted that Canada's present standard of living is threatened by both inflation and deflation. "Inflationary pressures are lessening, but increased defense expenditures and other factors may lead to renewed pressures. On the other hand, unemployment . . . is already a serious problem on the Pacific coast and in the Maritime provinces. Against these pressures we must have adequate defense." The resolution on this subject criticized both free enterprise and certain forms of government planning. "The United Church should study the present endeavor of our free enterprise system to meet more fully the needs of men and society as well as such trends toward more planning, cooperation and public ownership in democratic countries, to discover which elements of them are in harmony with the Christian way of life . . . ; the church should welcome and support this trend insofar as it promotes justice, freedom, the welfare of man and a more Christian society."

### *The Church's Alternative*

"The Christian church has two alternatives in the problem of church-state relationships," J. R. Mutchmor, general secretary of the board, told the delegates. "Either she may let events take their course and await the crisis, its suffering and its aftermath, and in the midst of these disasters do her utmost to help all who are in trouble—or she may now enter the political and economic fields and urge the authorities responsible forthwith to confer and plan to the end that our nation may be saved from unnecessary hardship. The church . . . must continue as the conscience of the state. Clearly today the church is threatened with the force of totalitarianism on the march. The state is very powerful. So is industry. So is organized labor. In these crises the church must be true to her Lord and ever keep the free way of life, and strengthen the bonds that make men members one of another and sons of the one Almighty Father."

In an address to the sessions, Roswell P. Barnes of New York, associate secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, appealed for challenging and convincing testimony of action on the part of the democracies as a means of meeting the Communist challenge.

W. G. BERRY.

# Deportation Case Stirs Australians

**Political Capital Made as Immigration Minister Insists on Expulsion of Family of Indonesian Hero**

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, March 1.—Paradox hunters claim to have picked up the spoor of one in a pending deportation case much in the headlines these days. At New Delhi and elsewhere, Australia wishes to be thought of as the friend of the Indonesians as against the tyranny of the Dutch; yet within her own borders she uproots an inoffensive, greatly admired Indonesian family, just to preserve intact some sacred principle held by A. A. Calwell, minister for immigration. During the war the Dutch evacuated to Australia an Indonesian war hero whom they had decorated for his airborne exploits, along with his wife and eight children. They were quartered with a retired Australian schoolteacher, a bachelor named O'Keefe. The father was killed in an air crash while on active duty, and later O'Keefe married the widow. Now, in spite of a direct personal appeal by Roman Catholic Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne and of protests by Protestant leaders against an apparent violation of ordinary human rights, Minister Calwell, himself a Catholic, is still determined to deport the widow and her eight children on the ground that their permission to stay in Australia was only temporary because of war conditions and that they, being Asiatics, have no right to permanent residence here. O'Keefe plans a legal battle to delay or defeat the expulsion, and says if this does not succeed he will depart with his family. The public outcry against the proceedings is being skillfully used by vote snatchers, who realize that the facts in the case do little credit to the administration in this year of federal elections.

### Aborigines Seek Seats In Parliament

A group of aborigines will contest seats in the senate and house of representatives at the federal elections to be held later this year. Their action is part of a major campaign to win a voice in Parliament. Among those chosen by their own people as candidates is Walter Saunders, who made history during the war as the first aborigine to receive an officer's commission and was awarded an important military decoration for his service. Presumably, when our dark-skinned fellow Australians begin to enjoy representation in Parliament, they will soon find themselves eligible for the related privilege of paying taxes.

### Approve 'TVA' for Southeast Australia

A $600-million hydroelectric and irrigation project for southeast Australia was approved this week by the federal, Victoria and New South Wales governments. It has been suggested that the administrative pattern of the TVA in the United States be adopted for controlling the vast enterprise. An ingenious network of tunnels and dams will squeeze the last gallon and kilowatt of usefulness from the waters of four rivers.

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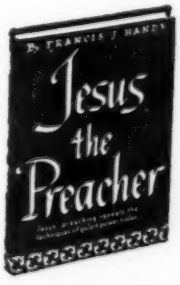


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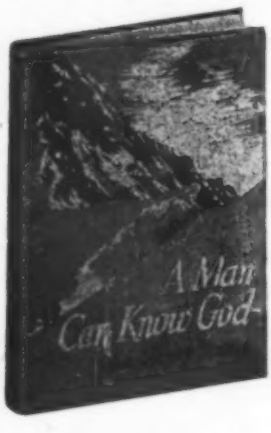


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It is expected that in 25 years the project will be producing more electricity than the present joint consumption of Sydney and Melbourne. It is being freely stated, though without official confirmation, that the three governmental bodies reached agreement on the plan with such unusual speed because enormous blocks of power are urgently needed for certain research and supply projects of a defense nature. The first stage of the development, we are told, will not be generating electricity until five to eight years hence. In view of the strategic purposes with which the scheme is being linked, Australians find that time forecast of great interest, but distinctly chilling.

### Bishop Who Saved 150 'Wives' Is to Retire

After 42 years' service in northern Australia, Alsace-born Francis Xavier Gsell, Roman Catholic bishop of Darwin, is about to retire. He is famous as "the bishop with 150 wives." About 40 years ago he bought his first "wife," a 10-year-old girl who had fled from the prospect of being added to the harem of an old man to whom she had been promised before birth. The bishop added her to his pastoral responsibilities in exchange for one tomahawk and some sugar, flour and tobacco, which assuaged the near-bridegroom's pangs of unrequited passion. Over the years, Bishop Gsell gave shelter to 149 other refugee girls. All of them were married to young aboriginal men connected with the mission, but the bush people continue to speak of these highly respectable matrons as "the bishop's wives."

### Urges Need for Greater Production

Douglas B. Copland, formerly price commissioner and now vice-chancellor of the national university at Canberra, declared recently that as a nation we are working up to only 70 per cent of our capacity. The values of our exports are so high that prosperity seems to have arrived. Still, production has dropped, though that fact is concealed by the soaring price of wheat, wool and other products. Professor Copland recommends a stabilization scheme for primary producers, whereby part of the present high export income would be held back for distribution later, when the price of farm products has fallen.

### And So Forth

"Houses to let—dozens of them—spacious, well equipped." Even though they knew there was a trap under the bait, 100 persons applied in answer to that announcement in the papers a few weeks ago, and over 40 families were accepted. These desirable houses were on the waterless, treeless Nullarbor plain in south-central Australia, where the government's 1,100 miles of railroad require 500 maintenance men. The 40 families have traded sociable homelessness in the city for well housed loneliness in the desert.

To accommodate the larger federal houses that will be elected late this year, extensions of the Parliament building in Canberra costing $200,000 have been begun.

New South Wales and Victoria are suffering from what promises to be a plague of rabbits. Among the causes is a shortage of wire netting and fumigant calcium cyanide, both of which come mainly from "hard currency" areas.

ALLAN T. MCNAUGHTON.

# N. Y. Ministers Meet Refugees

**Church World Service and Protestant Council Provide Helpful Service During Stopover in City**

NEW YORK, March 17.—In cooperation with Church World Service, the Manhattan division of the Protestant council of Greater New York is sponsoring a service by foreign-language-speaking ministers to displaced persons coming into New York harbor. It maintains a file of such ministers who volunteer to meet the ships on which refugees arrive. The New York council of churchwomen has set up a hostess committee which also meets the ships and invites the women and children to a "hospitality lounge" at the Seamen's Y.M.C.A. "It is not difficult to rejoice with these people as they realize that they have at last found the long dreamed-of freedom of America and have been welcomed by someone who dares to live his religion openly and proffers them a welcome in their native tongue," says Carl V. Herron, executive secretary of the Manhattan division. Mrs. Earl B. Breeding of the churchwomen's council reports that she is not surprised that all the newcomers want to see Fifth avenue and the Empire State building, but that she was not prepared for their exclamations when they saw a complete drugstore window display of soap. One bar of soap, they explained, had seemed a great luxury to them. The Church World Service staff and other church volunteers assist the newcomers to board the trains bearing them to their permanent homes.

### One Family's Welcome

An idea of the service rendered to incoming displaced persons may be obtained from the typical welcome given Edite and Paul Zeltins, Latvian farmers who arrived on the Marine Flasher last Wednesday. They were greeted in their own tongue by Adolfs Eglitis, pastor of the Latvian Baptist Church here. They were helped through customs and their baggage was checked through from the pier to Fargo, N. D. Then they were taken for lunch to the Seamen's Y.M.C.A. and for a bus ride before their train left for the west. The next day, on their arrival in Fargo, they were to be met by representatives of the local Lutheran council and driven to the town of Leonard, where a farmer has promised to give them a job and a home.

### Warns Jews to Shun 'Dual Nationality'

Addressing a meeting of the American Council for Judaism here last week, Henry Smith Leiper of the World Council of Churches declared that American Jews must not identify themselves with the political state of Israel if they hope to be considered full-fledged members of the United States community. Such a "dual nationality," he warned, will brand them as a national and racial minority, different from the rest of the nation, and contribute to the growth of anti-Semitism, the "terrible curse of our time," which he declared

is growing in the U.S. He called upon Jewish leaders to come out publicly with an expression of sympathy for the "800,000 victims of the violent expulsion of Arabs from Israel." He deplored the action of certain Jewish pressure groups which seek to influence U.S. foreign policy in unconstitutional ways for the benefit of Israel, saying that American Jews cannot be considered real Americans if they subvert their nation's interests to those of Israel.

### 'Deposed' Holy Trinity Vestry Obtains Injunction

During the Sunday morning service at Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, Rector John Howard Melish called a meeting of the church membership to vote on two new wardens and seven new vestrymen to fill the "unexpired terms" of the vestrymen who were voted out of office at a special congregational meeting March 7. In a surprise move the members of the "deposed" vestry secured from the courts a temporary stay against the holding of the meeting. Dr. Melish accepted the injunction and called off the meeting "pending clarification of the legal questions involved." Thus the matter is now in the courts. The "deposed" vestry last week sent a communication to parishioners calling the meeting which ousted them "illegal" and giving a "full report of the facts" in the case. "The issue is not one of free speech," they insisted. "Neither is it one of peace. The members of the vestry to a man will defend the right of the assistant minister [Dr. Melish's son] to express his opinions. . . . However, so long as the assistant minister holds his post in Holy Trinity, wherever he speaks he is inevitably identified with and regarded as speaking for Holy Trinity Church and the ministry, and the implication is that the church supports his viewpoint. We cannot reconcile ourselves to seeing a Christian minister appear to be an apologist for Soviet communism, when one of the creeds of communism is atheism."

### Urge Women's Aid in War on Secularism

"All the talents of all the members of Christian churches, male and female, are needed in church work in an age of mounting secularism," is the conclusion of the survey on "Women in American Church Life," published for the Federal Council of Churches by the Friendship Press and appearing last week. The study, made by Inez Calvert of the council staff aided by a committee of women in the national interdenominational agencies, declares that without the aid of churchwomen "the far-flung missionary work of the churches would have been impossible." Of the 111 denominations covered by the survey, 41 ordain women as ministers and 7 license them to preach. Most of the women pastors are in small country parishes.

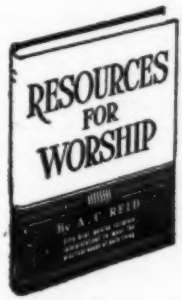
### And So Forth

Max W. Morgan, pastor of Wayland Memorial Baptist Church, Philadelphia, will be the main speaker in Brooklyn for the 10-day "cooperative crusade for Christ through evangelism" being sponsored by the Northern Baptist Convention.

Robert Johnson of Cincinnati has been elected executive director of the New York Y.M.C.A.'s intercollegiate branch.

J. Henry Carpenter.


# RESOURCES for WORSHIP

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# Anglicans Seek More Freedom

**Church of England Asks for New Power to Manage Own Affairs, but Not for Disestablishment**

LONDON, March 9.—Once again the Church of England is to make an attempt to gain greater freedom in the management of its own affairs. At a recent meeting its Church Assembly set up a commission to consider what changes are desirable in the relation of the church to the government. A resolution reaffirmed the value of the "establishment of the Church of England as an expression of the nation's recognition of religion" but stated a belief that the present form of establishment "impedes the fulfillment of the responsibilities of the church as a spiritual society." For the past 20 years, ever since Parliament rejected the revised Prayer Book, the church has felt frustrated within its own life. It has become aware of the burden of its particular relationship with the state. Many younger clergymen are all for complete disestablishment, believing that the church would gain in spiritual stature and in popular allegiance should it take this bold step. Others hold that if disestablishment is to come, then the state itself must take that step. There are no signs of the state's doing that—largely, it would seem, because no one in parliamentary life today is sufficiently concerned about the state of the Christian religion in these islands to begin such a campaign.

### Not Disestablishment, But More Freedom

So what the Church of England is now asking for is not disestablishment but more freedom. It wants to appoint its own bishops, make and enact its own laws and generally govern its own life without constant reference to Parliament for permission and legislation. This seems to most observers a reasonable request, and Englishmen of whatever denomination would be glad to see a new deal between church and state which would give the Anglican group this freedom. One argument widely heard in the recent Church Assembly debate was that disestablishment would be interpreted throughout the world as a national repudiation by the English people of the Christian religion. There is some force in this argument. Although fewer than 2 million of our population are now regular communicants of the Church of England, abroad it is still considered the church of the English people. Its historic venerability and deeply woven threads in the pattern of English life make its place unique. All the more reason, so some of its most loyal sons argue, why it should go on courageously to demand a new deal from the state.

### Disestablishment Held Not Likely

Suppose the Church of England does not obtain its sought-for freedom to be mistress of its own house while still keeping a relationship with the state? Then the party for disestablishment at least will have an ample arsenal for a fresh campaign. Being thoroughly English himself, this correspondent doubts whether the Church of England, disciplined by centuries of state connection, will ever itself demand disestablishment. It would seem, however, that if the church is lively enough now in its demands the state will probably come to an agreement. Courage is what the archbishops of Canterbury and York now need above anything else. No doubt the requests for specific freedoms will soon be talked through informally with Prime Minister Attlee. It is perhaps not lost on the archbishops that for the first time in many years we have a prime minister who is a loyal and devout Anglican, one who really cares about the church. At the moment the political barometer looks favorable for Anglican freedom.

### Labor Party Seems Secure In Power

We are within 12 months of a general election, and signs of the prophesied Conservative revival have yet to show themselves. On the present showing, Labor would be returned to power with only 70 seats lost—a prospect which for some people foretells the final ruin of Britain. In the recent by-election at South Hammersmith, a vast section of west London, the Conservative effort to defeat a Labor candidate in a contest for a Labor-held seat failed for the 31st time. In this election, the Conservatives seemed to have everything in their favor, including a special visit from Mr. Churchill. Crowds turned out to cheer the "greatest Englishman," and the next day at the polls voted his party down. The new M.P. for the district is W. T. Williams, a tutor at Manchester College, Oxford, and a Unitarian. Mr. Williams allies his socialism closely to his Christianity. Moral and religious fervor is still a good vote winner in a "secularized" Britain.

### Prepare for 1951 Festival

Visitors to London who have stood beneath Big Ben in Westminster and gazed across the Thames to the south bank may remember the muddle and misery which enveloped that area. Old warehouses, dilapidated breweries, unseemly shacks and dirty courtyards have shamed a district famous for much past glory in London's life, including Shakespeare's original Globe theater. Well, the desert is to blossom again. The area is to be the site of Britain's great festival of 1951. Exhibition halls to draw visitors from all over the world are now being designed. Pile drivers have begun work for a handsome new promenade which will add dignity to London's river and provide fresh material, we hope, for our American friends to photograph.

### Women's Peace Groups Unite

The Women's Peace Movement, a new coordination of all the country's women's organizations working for peace, promises to be lively and efficient. An audience reported to be largely middle-aged or elderly filled Central hall, Westminster, for one of its recent meetings. Pacifists and non-pacifists are in the organization. Mr. Bevin has agreed to meet a deputation from the movement; no doubt they will tell him plainly what they think. They will find him an ardent friend.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

# Consider Fate of German Refugees

**World Council Calls Meeting in Hamburg to Discuss Possibility of ECA Assistance, Emigration**

STUTTGART, GERMANY, March 10.—The World Council of Churches sponsored a meeting in the Hamburg town hall Feb. 22-25 at which an effort was made to find a solution to the problem created by the presence in this country of the 11 million German expellees from the eastern provinces and from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania. Present were representatives of the Evangelical Church in Germany, of the churches abroad, of the German provincial governments and of the occupying military governments. The council's refugee committee under the chairmanship of Henry Carter submitted an extensive report on the refugee situation and on the work done by the committee since Amsterdam. Elfan Rees, director of the refugee committee, condemned the "conspiracy of silence" which has heretofore hidden from the eyes of the world the growing political, social and moral danger created by the hopeless misery of the expellees. He admonished the Germans, however, that they should not forget that responsibility for the expellees rested with them.

### Hope to Obtain Aid From ERP

The conference at Hamburg adopted a resolution authorizing the World Council committee to take steps to secure for a refugee reconstruction program a share of the European Cooperation Administration dollar fund and of the counterpart fund (German currency set aside for promotion of trade within the European Recovery Program). All this would be carried out under ERP to make possible a better existence for the expellees. Eugen Gerstenmaier, head of Hilfswerk, the relief agency of the German Protestant churches, pointed out, however, that all means of absorbing the refugees into German industry and agriculture must be exhausted before foreign help is accepted.

### Would Facilitate Emigration

The conference also authorized the refugee committee to exercise its influence upon the governments of foreign nations to facilitate group emigration of the German expellees. In this connection, it is planned to send several leading European church representatives to countries which offer prospects of immigration, in order that they may investigate possibilities of resettlement. Pastor Martin Niemöller has been invited to visit Australia on a mission of this sort. At another meeting to take place at Geneva headquarters of the World Council March 14, a new detailed program will be mapped out.

### Germans Welcome Concern For Expellees

To many Germans the resolution which the Amsterdam assembly adopted on the German refugee problem seemed the greatest practical achievement of Amsterdam, for it promised to focus world attention for the first time on a great postwar tragedy which had received almost no publicity outside the nation's borders. That resolution recognized the problem as an international one, since it was created after the war by the Allies themselves. The International Refugee Organization and the military governments had done a splendid job caring for and returning about 6 million displaced persons from Germany to their own countries. But with the exception of Protestants abroad, particularly in the United States, who donated millions of dollars and sent food and clothing to alleviate the greatest distress, few people knew that there were any refugees aside from the "displaced persons" from other lands. Many of the expellees live in dire poverty under dreadful conditions.

### Russians Score Clergy's 'Lack of Enthusiasm'

On the basis of reports from the Russian zone, it is apparent that both Protestants and Catholics there are looking into the future with growing anxiety. Church leaders are wondering whether it will be their turn next to experience the pressure which has been exerted in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Religious teaching in schools has been practically abolished, and Christian youth organizations have been declared illegal and dissolved. Recently the *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin, official organ of Soviet military government in Germany, severely criticized Catholic and Protestant clergymen for "not showing enough enthusiasm for state ownership measures in agriculture and industry." The paper suggested that it might be necessary to take "preventive measures" if church authorities do not show more cooperation.

### Rules for Teachers In Soviet Zone

Typical of the attitude of the state governments in the Russian zone are the rules which the director of schools in Saxony, a former trustee of the University of Halle, has laid down for teachers. "Our teaching methods must be shaped according to Soviet pedagogy," he said recently. "The basis of all teaching, especially in history, is the materialist concept of life. To talk of freedom is nonsense. No man is free. Every teacher must be an active official of the S.E.D. [Communist party]. His work is to be judged by his political zeal, and his salary is to be fixed accordingly. Our schools are instruments of the state and of its policies. They have nothing to do with religion and with the churches."

### Plan International Lutheran Theological Seminary

Some time ago the executive committee of the Lutheran World Federation authorized Bishop Hans Meiser of Bavaria, head of the United Lutheran Church of Germany, Professor Jörgensen of Copenhagen and Prof. D. Sommerlath of Leipzig to plan a new international theological faculty. After first considering Copenhagen as a seat for the faculty, the committee has decided to choose a location at a German university in order to stress the importance to the Lutheran churches of the world of German theological research.

ERNEST A. HEPP.


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It was formerly held that man was actually descended from apes of the existing species, the European perhaps from the chimpanzee, the Negro from the gorilla and the Mongol from the orang-outang. Of late years, however, it has come to be the general opinion among anthropologists that man is not descended from any existing anthropoid but from some now extinct relative; and the fact that all races of mankind will readily interbreed has been taken to show that the human species is really one, and must therefore be the offspring, if not of one pair, at least of one related group. $4.75

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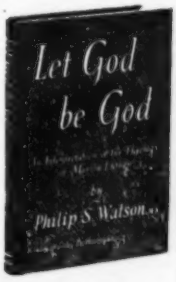


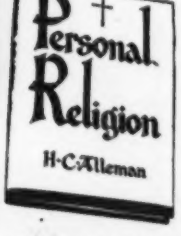


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# New Peace Hope Revives Shanghai

**City Cheered by Welcome Communists Gave Yen Mission—Lutherans' 'St. Paul' Demolished**

SHANGHAI, March 7.—There is more hope in Shanghai now than at any time in recent months. The unofficial peace mission led by W. W. Yen, veteran diplomat and Shanghai churchman, has returned from Peiping with a message from the Communist leader, Mao Tse Tung. Although its terms have not been made public, it is reported that they give a basis upon which official peace talks can begin. The Communists appear willing to shorten somewhat their extended list of "war criminals" and have offered a plan for the "reorganization" of the Nationalist armies, thus reducing two of the major obstacles to negotiation. It is believed that official peace talks will begin in Peiping before April. The venerable Dr. Yen was received with great courtesy by the Communists. On his return he told reporters that there are "difficulties and yet hopes ahead."

### Church Life in Peiping Appears to be Normal

During his stay in Peiping, Dr. Yen attended church services. He reports that attendance was normal, activities were unrestricted and most Christians seemed optimistic. To judge by letters from missionaries in Peiping, they are faring well, although the position of foreigners in the area has not yet been defined. Frank Brown, a missionary with more than 35 years' experience in China, has just arrived in Shanghai from the Presbyterian, U.S.A., mission in Communist-held Hsuchow north of Nanking. He reports that there has been no interference with the work of the church there. The mission hospital is functioning as usual. Troops have occupied some of the school buildings, but since winter vacation is now on Mr. Brown could not predict just how the occupation will affect operation of classes. During the weeks since the occupation, religious classes have been held at the mission, and more than 20 persons have joined the church. So far there has been no restriction on Mr. Brown's movements in or out of Hsuchow.

### United College Board Closes China Office

The United Board for Christian Colleges in China has announced that its China office here will be closed March 31. William P. Fenn, director of the office, explains that the action in no way indicates a lessening of interest in the colleges or of determination to assist them. The Shanghai office, he points out, was established to expedite remittances and to handle large shipments of supplies and equipment to rehabilitate the colleges. With the improvement of transportation and communication, these functions are no longer vital to the united board's program. In a policy statement issued in December, the board declared its determination to support the schools "as long as they are able to remain open and conduct their educational work in accordance with the basic purpose for which they were founded and have been supported."

### Lutheran Plane Crashes

The two-motored Lutheran transport plane St. Paul crashed Feb. 10 in a landing in bad weather at Kweiyang. The crew and passengers escaped injury, but the plane was so badly damaged that it must be abandoned. The loss of the St. Paul brings dismay to the entire mission community in China, Protestant and Catholic alike. During the past two and a half years, thousands of missionaries of every denomination have ridden in the plane's bucket seats, and more have benefited from the cargoes of everything from Bibles to baby food that it has carried. The only mission-owned transport plane in China, the St. Paul flew charter runs to every part of the country. It carried peak loads during the evacuation of missionaries from war areas last fall and winter. During the siege of Peiping it made flights to that city after the commercial lines had withdrawn. Axel Christensen, member of the Danish Lutheran mission and agent of the Lutheran World Federation, who is now in Shanghai, reports that the St. Paul was insured and that arrangements are being made for the purchase of a replacement. Some persons are suggesting that the new plane be named for Daniel Nelson, former Lutheran World Federation representative in China who was killed in a plane crash last summer. In any case, grateful friends will never forget Dan Nelson or the St. Paul.

### Catholic Priests Join Lingnan Faculty

Two Catholic priests of the Maryknoll mission society have joined the faculty of Lingnan University, Canton's famous Protestant-founded Christian college. They were invited by the Lingnan board of directors, the controlling group of the university in China. Fr. Joseph Hahn, a graduate of M.I.T., teaches engineering and Fr. George Putnam, a graduate of Georgetown University, teaches sociology. With the approval of school authorities, the priests also serve as chaplains to Catholic students in the university, which has no direct connection with any mission board in America. It is the first of China's mission colleges to take such a step.

### Shanghai Begins Trade With the North

Two barter ships have completed round trips from Shanghai to Tientsin exchanging loads of flour for coal, and more ships are to follow immediately. The city desperately needs such trade. Industries are in a critical state. Cotton mills, representing the major industry, are feeling the acute shortage since shipments of raw cotton from North Kiangsu and from Handow were cut off following Communist victories north of the Yangtze. Supply lines for the soap, leather, flour and tobacco industries have also been cut. Hope for economic Shanghai rests in an early and complete resumption of trade with all areas of China. Industries expect little help from the new economic "reforms" announced last week. In fact, few business men, or anyone else for that matter, seem to know exactly what they mean. It is clear that the black market

rate of exchange will now be accepted, and that the government wants its taxes paid in silver or commodities. The result will be to speed the paper currency in its rush to complete worthlessness. The cost of living index released on March 1 shows that prices now are 643 times the level of Aug. 19. Real economic reform waits upon overall political and military settlement.

### Urge Development of Church Relation to Industry

The National Christian Council's committee on Christian service in industrial relations, under the leadership of Henry D. Jones, is urging all local churches to observe and put Christian content into the local union celebration of Labor Day May 1. Posters illustrating the theme, "Jesus was a carpenter," are being distributed. The committee intends to lead pastors and churches to become acquainted with labor leaders, with factory management and with Christians who have a connection with any factory or union, so that they may begin to make a Christian impact upon the industrial relations of the community.

### And So Forth

Despite difficult local conditions and the loss of nearly half its normal membership during the evacuations, the Community Church under the pastorate of J. H. Snavely has concluded a successful membership and financial campaign, in which the remaining members and their friends underwrote the largest budget since the end of the war with Japan.

The Canton city fathers have just ruled that after March 20 no pedicabs may have red seat covers, since red is the "color of communism."

Readers of The Christian Century in Shanghai were greatly amused when they noted in the Jan. 19 issue a letter to the editor charging Frank W. Price with "following the party line." Now, they feel, they've heard everything!

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## Current Feature Films

*Prepared by Independent Filmscores*

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

**Family Honeymoon** (Univ.) Claudette Colbert, Fred MacMurray. *Comedy.* The three obstreperous children of young widow make their mother's honeymoon with second husband anything but a quiet, happy affair. Things happen as fast and furiously as in a "domestic" comic strip, and as witlessly. *Good fun.* M,Y,C

**John Loves Mary** (War.) *Comedy.* Efforts of sergeant, returned from four years abroad, to keep fiancée, determined on immediate wedding, unaware that he has married an English girl so that she can immigrate, divorce him and marry his best friend—who no longer wants her. Every device he hits on for postponement is destroyed by his girl's senator-father's "influence," army brass being particularly eager to please him. Almost literal filming of stage play is *frantic farce* throughout, with some spots of good satire on top officers, politicians. M,Y

**South of St. Louis** (War.) *Melodrama.* Their ranch destroyed by "Yankee guerrillas" early in Civil War near Mexican border (!), three young men set up profitable, thrilling business running guns through Union blockade. One is ruined by success, another disillusioned but able to join the third in picking up pieces after the shooting is over. Plenty of *violent technicolored action* in the western tradition, in a film which unbelievably distorts Civil War history. M,Y

**The Walking Hills** (Col.) *Melodrama.* Group of renegades in Mexico, many of them refugees from the law, one a disreputable detective, cross border to seek gold rumored to have been buried with wagon train years before. In Death valley setting, their mutual animosity disrupts operations, and a violent sand storm has final word. Stark duneland setting impressive. Realistic, but because most of the characters are despicable, *one views events with little sympathy.* M,Y

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